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**FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE**

**RESPECTING**

**THE LEBANON**

**PART 8**

**January to December 1954**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### General Correspondence

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
	1954		
1 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 92	June 9	New approach to foreign affairs by certain leading politicians Recognition in Government quarters that it is in Lebanon's interest to identify herself with the West; Lebanon more disposed to do business with the West.	1
2 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 6	Jan. 12	Annual review for 1953 ... ..	2
3 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 105	June 24	Recent tendency towards the adoption of a more realistic policy to the West ... .. Tendency owes something to the recent Agreement between Iraq and America; friendship with the West not to be at the price of offending the Arab world; in the dispute between the Eastern and Western blocs Lebanon's position would be with the West.	8
4 Mr. Scott ... .. No. 160	Sept. 18	Comments on the new Government of Mr Sami Solh. ... .. Decision to form a new government ends the state of uncertainty; new Cabinet not a considerable improvement on the old one; Cabinet expected to have a comfortable majority in the Chamber.	10
5 Mr. Scott ... .. No. 167	Oct. 1	Report on a vote of confidence obtained by Mr. Sami Solh's Government in a special session of the Chamber of Deputies on September 18 ... .. Desire by the Government to substitute action for talk; programme considered to be too ambitious.	12
6 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 205	Dec. 8	State of Greek Orthodox Church within the Patriarchate of Antioch ... .. General picture a disquieting one; aged Patriarch to all intents and purposes a Soviet agent; Orthodox Church in this area penetrated by Moscow and their democratic opponents losing ground.	14

### Appendix—Biographical Notes

	1954		
7 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 101	June 23	Annual report on the leading personalities ... ..	[ 1
8 Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews No. 84	May 20	Annual report on the heads of foreign missions ... ..	[ 13

### SUBJECT INDEX

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS—8.  
ANNUAL REPORT ON THE LEADING PERSONALITIES—7.  
ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1953—2.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS—1, 3.  
GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH, STATE OF—6.  
SAMI SOLH, NEW GOVERNMENT OF—4, 5.

## FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

### THE LEBANON—PART 8

#### GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

VL 1022/4

No. 1

#### NEW APPROACH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY CERTAIN LEADING POLITICIANS

*Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received June 15)*

(No. 92. Confidential)

Beirut,

Sir,

June 9, 1954.

I have the honour to report that in recent months there have been heartening indications of a more realistic approach to foreign affairs on the part of a number of leading Lebanese politicians. In January, the idea of American military and economic aid for the Arab States was welcomed by several commentators known hitherto for their nationalist, hence anti-Western, views. The following month the Turkey-Pakistan pact was given a good reception, some Lebanese leaders even arguing in favour of Lebanese participation. The truce in internal affairs which was observed during the President's absence in South America in May both gave the opportunity for attention to be focussed on foreign affairs and pointed the importance to Lebanon of its external relations. It so happened, also during May, that the proposed purchase of two Swedish oil tankers by Lebanese interests and their resale to Poland (which I have reported in my letter to Mr. Falla No. 13912/2/54 of the 19th of May) became a matter of acute public controversy, forcing people to the unwonted necessity of making up their minds about where they stood. On which side was Lebanon in the cold war? Was it possible to claim to be a good member of the Arab League, to fight its battles in the Security Council, and yet not to have made up one's mind about wider issues?

2. At the end of April the Chamber of Deputies held a secret session on foreign affairs in which a number of speakers advocated some form of alliance with the West. There was, of course, the usual Left-wing and extreme nationalist opposition, but the strength of opinion in favour of open association with the West was unexpected. The Foreign Minister, M. Alfred Naccache, in conversation with me afterwards, claimed much of the credit for this, saying that it was the culmination of his efforts over a long period. Emile Boustani, one of the leading speakers at this secret session, stated afterwards to the Press that he had advocated agreement with the three Western Powers, but not with Britain only; and he followed this up a few days later with a Press conference in which he advised Arabs to seek military help from the Western Powers. This advice was echoed by the newspapers, notably by Nassi Ma'louf in *Jarida*, who urged Lebanon to accept military aid from the United States as Iraq had done, though not to commit herself to general support for Western policies unless a satisfactory *quid pro quo* was offered.

3. In the middle of May, it became known that the Ministry of National Economy had issued licences for the import from Sweden and re-export to Poland of two oil tankers. For the next fortnight this subject dominated politics and the Press. The controversy over whether the licences should ever have been issued and, if not, whether they could and should now be cancelled, has not, it appears, even yet been settled. It was finally agreed to leave the affair for the President to deal with on his return, but the incident made clear the widespread support of the West in its policy towards Russia and the Satellites and, in particular, in its efforts to control the export of strategic goods to them. Several leading papers castigated the tanker sale as "official contraband" or an "insolent act of smuggling." Acrimonious exchanges took place in the Chamber, including suggestions of a

personal interest in high places, and once more Emile Boustani took the lead in sending to the Speaker (and subsequently publishing) a long letter dealing with the Tripartite Declaration and the tankers. So far as the latter were concerned, Boustani demanded to know whether the Government held itself bound by any commitment and berated the negative policy of Lebanon's political leaders; but he came out strongly in favour of negotiating with the West for effective military aid, provided certain conditions were satisfied. These, in his view, would undoubtedly mean rendering more precise and definitely binding Western obligations of the sort now covered by the Tripartite Declaration.

4. I am not sure how much this movement of opinion adds up to, and I am not suggesting that Lebanon's foreign policy has taken a new direction. But the proposed sale of the two tankers has brought the question of "neutralism" to a head and forced the Government and people to a reassessment of their position and an appraisal of where Lebanon's real interests lie. The Left-wing Press, as was to be expected, worked itself into a fury over allegations of "secret agreements" which endangered the independence of the country. But the more responsible Press has supported the decision of the Cabinet not to allow the tankers' sale to go through, and has welcomed the definite trend towards a more open pro-West policy. This is for various reasons: it has been recognised primarily that it is in Lebanon's interests to identify itself with the West, and more particularly in the interests of the Lebanese Christian community; this is true not only from the purely commercial point of view, but also because of the close connections maintained between Lebanon and the large number of Lebanese emigrants in the West. Self-interest is effectively evoked by the prospect of large United States aid; and at the same time there is a general understanding among the intelligentsia that Lebanon must sink or swim with the Western Powers. There is also some fear of Israeli expansionism. It would not be Lebanon, however, if co-operation were to be freely offered; and some of our friends have taken the line that Arab co-operation is indeed available, but only at the price of "satisfaction of just demands." The motives, therefore, are mixed—selfish, sordid and idealistic: the fact, however, remains that Lebanon is now, in my opinion, more disposed to do business openly with the West in defence matters than at any time during recent years.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Tel Aviv, Jedda and the British Middle East Office, Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

VL 1011/1

No. 2

### LEBANON: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1953

*Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received January 18)*

(No. 6. Confidential) Beirut,  
Sir, January 12th, 1954.

I have the honour to submit my annual political review of the Lebanon for 1953.

#### Background

2. It may not be inappropriate to start by sketching in the background against which the changing events in the political and social life of the country must be viewed. Religious sectarianism is more deeply rooted than patriotism in the Lebanese breast. It springs chiefly perhaps from the instinct of self-preservation natural

to Christian minorities who have through the years, even to recent times, sheltered some of the remnants of persecution. To-day there are six major religious communities here and some twenty minor ones, none entirely trusting the others and all feeling the need for friends abroad. Generally speaking, the Maronites and Latins turn for preference towards Western Europe, the Moslems towards the Arab world, the Druzes keep a footing in every camp and the Greek Orthodox, the enfeebled but still recognisable heirs of Byzantium, are not sure where to turn. Instead

of political parties in our sense, there are only personal followings within the various communities which, in their turn, by mutual consent preserve a quota or pattern of representation in the Chamber and hence in the Government. Small wonder, therefore, that there is no strong central government, no civil service worthy of the name, and no effective police force. There are regions in the hills where fugitives from justice openly walk abroad carrying arms and where "the Government" is defied. Honesty everywhere is a comparative term.

3. Yet, partly because of its mosaic social pattern and partly because of the facts of geography, the Lebanese slips naturally into the rôle of interpreter and intermediary between Moslem and Christian, Arab and Westerner. Force of circumstances at home have made him an individualist, an opportunist. He is a good businessman, merchant or middleman. He seeks wealth overseas and, as an immigrant, he establishes enclaves where his family and others from his village community at home find a welcome and a start in a new life. More than most countries, the Lebanese is open to all the winds that blow. It has a heavily adverse visible balance of trade, yet a better standard of living than its Arab neighbours and no public debt. It lives largely on its invisible exports, mostly "services."

#### General

4. The curtain rises for 1953. We see a certain amount of litter from the "revolution" of the previous September being cleared away (but not burnt), and as the stage gradually lightens as though with the dawn, there enters upon it President Camille Chamoun, more self-satisfied than self-confident, in the rôle of the fairy prince charming who has rescued the Lebanese fair maiden from the wicked uncle of the *ancien régime*. But as the act is played out the tinsel glamour of the scene fades. Prince charming has lost his way and much of his charm, the maiden herself seems doubtful whether it was all worth while, and even the wicked uncle begins to look, in retrospect, at least like a master who knew his own mind.

5. The situation, like so many in this part of the world, was paradoxical. Torn between the desire to escape responsibility by acting as a strictly Constitutional President, and the wish to rise to the need of the hour, the President made only half-hearted, intermittent and inconsistent

interventions in public affairs. And his Government were little better. Consisting at the beginning of the year of three diplomats and one customs man, they were armed by Parliament with full powers; and two of them, George Hakim and Moussa Mobarak, were able men. But such abilities as they possessed were largely neutralised by their mutual disagreements. M. Mobarak, a loyal Maronite official under the French Mandate, represented those who looked towards the European connexion and the Conservative past, whereas M. Hakim, the Greek Orthodox economist and Arab Unionist, thought in terms of the onward march of the Arabs in step together. The resignation of M. Mobarak early in February allowed M. Hakim (who replaced him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while retaining the portfolios of Finance and National Economy) to ride as he pleased his two favourite hobby horses, economic union with Syria and drastic revision of existing foreign concessions and Oil Transit Agreements.

#### Political

##### *Government and Parliament*

6. The three-man government of diplomats struggled on for a few days beyond the 15th of April when the allotted period of full powers expired. Then, on the 18th of April, members of the Chamber walked out *en masse* in protest. But although Saeb Salaam's team that followed was picked from both inside and outside Parliament and received a grudging vote of confidence, their leader's administrative energy was not matched by political acumen and by the end of May there was nothing for it but dissolution. The new electoral law had upset the old pattern by reducing the number of Deputies from seventy-seven to forty-four, but President Chamoun, whose work this was, had not known how to overcome opposition to his complementary project for a second (nominated) Chamber. Thus, although the unaccustomed orderliness of the general elections in July were marred only by one cold-blooded murder, the results were uninspiring. Many leading and worthy figures, including Saeb Salaam and two recent young Ministers for Foreign Affairs, could find no place, and the new Chamber was largely composed of nonentities. Without going outside it, which he was wisely not inclined to do, Abdullah Yafi could not form the strong Government needed to

carry out those long overdue reforms for which popular clamour had brought down the old régime. The year closed with people saying that the atmosphere was more breathable, yes, but nothing had really been done, and, after all, Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury, with all his faults, had known how to govern.

#### Public Order

7. In the middle of the year there was some anxiety lest depression conditions at Tripoli should lead to demonstrations, possibly in favour of union with Syria; but despite the ever-present irritant of disagreement over oil there were no disorders. A nation-wide general strike called in October in protest against the Government's supine attitude towards French policy in Morocco was more successful in Tripoli than in Beirut, but that was all. Talk of unifying public security forces, police and gendarmerie, came to nothing apart from minor administrative changes and the country at large has been neither more nor less lawless than heretofore. The arrest at the end of December of Colonel Ghazi, a senior army officer, and of two junior officers, on a charge of plotting to seize command of the army, caused a sensation, but the matter was firmly handled by the Commander-in-Chief and evoked no public reaction other than mild speculation about what would have happened if such a *coup* had succeeded. People felt that it must inevitably have been followed by a *coup d'Etat*.

#### Economic

##### Trade and Commerce

8. 1953 was a disappointing year. The effect of falling world prices and the Korean Armistice on over-stocked merchants' inventories, the continuing difficulties with Syria, and the decline in the summer tourist traffic due to Syrian and Egyptian travel and currency restrictions were keenly felt, and a number of bankruptcies, actual or rumoured, began to create an atmosphere of alarm. However, the Government kept their heads and refused to be rushed into panic measures; so the natural resilience of the economy was able to assert itself. But although at the end of the year the President and Government were talking cheerfully about hydro-electric projects, new banks, improved municipal services and industrial development, one had the impression that this was largely to keep up the morale of the people.

The centuries-old entrepôt trade of Beirut has undoubtedly suffered a hard blow, though we hope not a mortal one, by the understandably nationalistic economy of Syria. Tripoli suffered in this respect more than Beirut, which produced a situation with a political complex to which successive Lebanese Governments have been sensitive. At the year's end the visit of the British Trade Mission under Sir Edward Benthall succeeded in fostering increased goodwill towards Britain while giving the Lebanese in turn an opportunity to urge us to buy more of their products. Lebanese anxiety to redress their unfavourable balance of trade by finding new markets for their products has been responsible for the run of trade agreements with Iron Curtain countries. As was to be expected of a port with a Free Zone in a country with a free money market, strategic raw materials, some from Western Europe, have throughout the year been slipping under the Iron Curtain through Beirut, though not in significant quantities.

9. *Oil and Electricity*.—Pressure on the oil companies for new transit agreements varied in intensity and method. The main demand on the Iraq Petroleum Company was for negotiation of a new agreement to replace the unratified instrument signed by the Lebanese Prime Minister in May 1952, which throughout the year the company maintained as valid. The Lebanese made no bones of their demand for "more money from oil," and they did not care how this was achieved, whether by the application of new criteria producing a totally new basis or by increasing *pro rata* payments under the old form of agreement. Saeb Salaam, when Prime Minister (from the end of April until July), declared for a half share of the putative profits or alternatively an annual lump sum payment far in excess of current revenues. Variations on the theme were a threat to "nationalise" the Tripoli refinery; a boycott of tankers which had visited Israeli ports over the past three years; a demand on the British Tanker Company for income tax; and veiled threats to interfere with the Iraq Petroleum Company's "privileged" air services. This pressure was supported by press campaigns sometimes officially inspired, to which the company opposed an unmoved front, while assiduously cultivating its private and public relations. So much vociferous denunciation of the 1952 agreements (for there was a parallel one with Tapline) had driven successive Governments to a point

from which retreat would be difficult and dangerous and by the end of the year it seemed that ratification had probably become a political impossibility. Nettled by the Iraq Petroleum Company's somewhat smug stone-walling, Abdullah Yafi, the Prime Minister, appealed in December through diplomatic channels to the British, French, American and Netherlands Governments, representing the shareholders to use their influence to break the deadlock. The French and American Embassies collaborated generally with ourselves on the oil question—the Americans with some restraint, especially to begin with, because of the anti-trust laws and the slightly more favourable position of Tapline, the French with all the greater zest because they appreciated our helpful attitude towards their own dispute with the Lebanese over the Beirut Electricity Company.

10. The French finally referred the electricity dispute to The Hague but, by the end of the year, the Lebanese seemed to be on the point of settling out of court. Nevertheless, the effects on the electricity supply of this long drawn out wrangle increased in severity throughout the year and the onset of winter brought frequent power cuts and failures and the unseasonable institution of daylight saving.

#### Foreign Affairs

##### Relations with Arab States and Israel

11. While successive Governments were preoccupied with inescapable local problems, President Chamoun embarked early in the year on a round of official visits to Arab States (except Syria). These may have been only a symptom, or may have done something to engender thoughts of a closer Arab union or more effective co-ordinated action which in the course of the year was exemplified in Arab League projects for an Arab army, a regional economic organisation, intensification of the Israel boycott and an Arab development bank. By the autumn, however, the President had put off his Arab robes, perhaps because it had become apparent to him that nobody really took him seriously as an Arab, that even the Moslems at home were not impressed and that the Christians, especially the more nervous ones, were growing restive. At the year's end, Christian restiveness was clearly discernible in an atmosphere where the Moslems were

seriously discussing privately among themselves eventual Arab federation or at least confederation.

12. Opinion at home throughout the year was only half-hearted in support of the League and lukewarm in hostility to Israel, but the official and public line characteristically went with the main current of League opinion. Thus there had to be an official intensification of the Israel boycott and a notice was served on Imperial Chemical Industries to sever its connexions with Israel within three months or go. Simultaneously, the President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister assured me that there was no intention of executing such a writ. Similarly the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister privately agreed with us that Jordan had no option but to respond affirmatively to the convocation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations under Article 12 (3) of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement, but when it came to a debate on the point in the Arab League Political Committee, both statesmen lacked the courage of their convictions and joined in the unanimous resolution to advise Jordan otherwise. The Lebanon has thus remained true to the traditions created by the very nature of its society to follow and not to lead and to avoid offending, more still provoking, anybody.

13. Desultory talks on closer economic co-operation with Syria continued throughout the year. Although the Lebanon, living largely by transit and entrepôt trade, would have readily settled for a customs union, the Syrians, determined to prevent a renewal of Lebanese economic penetration, insisted on nothing less than full economic union. This would have meant circumscribing the free Lebanese economy by currency and import controls but, while they knew they could not accept it, most Lebanese Moslems did not wish, and the Christians did not dare, openly to reject it. The question continued to be shelved by repeated, and agreed, prolongations of the *status quo*, and the year closed with the President dispirited but his Tripolitanian Moslem Minister of National Economy still striving hopefully for something which at least could be called economic union, even if in fact it amounted to a good deal less.

##### Relations with United States and France

14. Both Lebanese and Americans seemed to blow hot and cold by turns in

their mutual relations. Early in the year Lebanese obstruction caused the Americans seriously to contemplate withdrawing all Point Four agencies from the country. By May, after Mr. Dulles's brief visit, there were great expectations. Though these waned, others waxed in the autumn with news that the Americans had shelved Four-Power Defence and were about to offer unilateral military aid. Lebanese hopes of getting something for nothing accordingly rose, only to be dashed again shortly afterwards when almost simultaneously with the news of the "massacre" at Qibya, Mr. Eric Johnston arrived and in Arab eyes appeared to be trying to sell a Jewish scheme for Jordan Waters. The resumption of American aid to Israel within a few hours of the Israelis agreeing to cease work in the demilitarised area near the Syrian frontier (having hurriedly completed what they had been trying to do) sent American stock down to zero.

15. With the French, relations have not been happy. The reason is not so much President Chamoun's personal prejudices, or Lebanese suspicion of a lingering concept of a French sphere of influence, as the bitter wrangle over the Beirut Electricity Company and a quarrel over the French concessionary port company, together with widespread sympathy with the Moroccans for whom the Lebanese, remembering the mandate, have a fellow-feeling.

#### *Relations with Her Majesty's Government*

16. Relations with Britain were easy and friendly throughout the year. Despite the Anglo-Egyptian situation and tension over Palestine, 1953 saw no public demonstrations against us, no broken windows. The majority of the Lebanese people, even of those in political life who ought to know better, believe that we got President Chamoun into power and that we are backing him; and throughout the year I was enjoined by all sorts of people to influence the President to secure social or constitutional reforms, to bring in a stronger Government and not to adventure too far in promoting Arab solidarity. The President himself is aware of and accepts this situation, thinking perhaps that it strengthens his position; but it has its obvious dangers. For us the danger is that if he should fail we should be blamed, especially by those who, while acknowledging that strong action is required, have not the courage or strength themselves to

take it. Throughout the year President Chamoun and successive Ministries dealt frankly and openly with us, giving us not only information but friendly assurances and opportunities for collaboration. These included the reassertion privately by the President on more than one occasion of his intention to put the country at our disposal in the event of war; constant badgering for more, better and cheaper military and civil aircraft, as well as arms and service equipment of all kinds; steady pressure for help in starting a boarding school for boys on British public school lines; a request for sterling aid in founding an Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank and a company or companies to carry out hydro-electric schemes, notably the Litani; and the secondment of a chief inspector from the Metropolitan Police to advise them how to solve their traffic problem. On our side we have obliged them by giving high priority to the supply of certain weapons, including field guns (to the evident disgruntlement of the French, who cannot forget the so-called "non-substitution agreement"), and in renewing for another two years the Royal Air Force Training Mission. 1953 saw the arrival of the first Lebanese Air Force Vampire Jet fighters. All of us felt, too, that the joys and sorrows of the British people were sincerely shared by the Lebanese. The Queen's Coronation and the death of Queen Mary leaving us in no doubt of this.

#### *Communism and the Soviet Bloc*

17. Communism continued to be proscribed by law, but undoubtedly made some progress in the country during the year. The death of Stalin was made the occasion for a display of sycophantic adulation in the press. Communist propaganda, including that printed outside the country, continued to circulate more or less freely, and some 350 young Lebanese were allowed by the authorities to attend and return unmolested from the youth festival at Bucharest. A Middle East Peace Partisans' Conference at Beirut in December proved, however, to be a damp squib. Largely owing to the refusal of the new President to countenance the continuance of secret financial support for a group of trade unions associated with the West, these latter split towards the end of the year and there was an ominous slide towards Communist-controlled unions. But neutralism, which the press at the end of the year reported to be in the air of

Cairo, found no takers among responsible Lebanese here.

18. Diplomatic relations with the Communist bloc in Beirut seem to have been limited to commercial questions. Commercial treaties were signed with East Germany and Yugoslavia, and that signed the previous year with Czechoslovakia came into force. Negotiations were forecast for 1954 with Hungary and Poland. In August the Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires, under orders for transfer to Prague, defected, taking his wife and daughter with him to Cyprus.

#### **Conclusion**

19. The balance is not easy to strike. President Chamoun, vain, erratic and sentimental, full of prejudices but devoid of any deep convictions, inclined to be swayed by whoever spoke to him last, superficially Western in many ways and educationally a product of the French Jesuit University of Beirut, but embarrassingly eager for exclusively British help and support, and conscious always of the need to keep in step with his Moslem nationals and Arab neighbours, is typical of his countrymen except perhaps that he is fundamentally more honest and more desirous of achieving higher standards of Government than most. It would be too much to expect this little country, divided as it is against itself, clinging to the Mediterranean coast of the Middle East, with virtually no experience of independence or statecraft, to exhibit gifts for leadership or to strike out on a strong and independent course. The best we can hope and work for is to maintain the independence of this country, to prevent it being bullied by or drawn into a federation of its Moslem Arab neighbours, maintaining it as a stepping-stone, a political, economic, cultural and strategic bridgehead, which the hard facts of geography and the cross-currents of history have combined to make it.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

#### Enclosure

#### *Summary of Principal Events in the Lebanon, 1953*

##### January

- 2-5 Visit of six British Members of Parliament, arranged by M. Emile Boustani.
- 12 Signature of several agreements between Lebanese Government and Point IV, to avert threatened withdrawal of Point IV from Lebanon.

##### January

- 16 Treaty of Friendship concluded between Lebanon and Pakistan.
- 20 Arrival of Dr. Pieter Lieftinck, former Netherlands Minister of Finance and now International Bank representative at Ankara, on visit at request of Lebanese Government to advise on creation of an industrial development bank.
- 23-26 Visit of H.M.S. *Kenya* to Beirut.
- 26 Opening of negotiations for a new economic agreement with Syria, involving some form of closer economic relations.

##### February

- 6 Resignation of M. Moussa Mobarak as Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 7-13 Visit by the President of the Republic to Saudi Arabia.
- 10 Signature of provincial economic agreement with Syria (to last six months).
- 16-20 Visit of Japanese Trade Mission.

##### March

- 3 Decision to raise Lebanese Legation at London to status of Embassy.
- 4 Ratification of Lebanon-Jordan Trade Agreement, signed in August 1952.
- 5 Signature of six months' Economic Agreement with Syria.
- 20 Seizure by Lebanese Government of premises of Beirut Electricity Company.
- 24-29 Visit by the President of the Republic to Iraq.
- 24 Death of Her Majesty Queen Mary.

##### April

- 9-15 Visit to Lebanon of the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia.
- 15 Expiry of Lebanese Government's full powers.
- 21-27 Visit by the President of the Republic to Egypt.
- 28 Resignation of Government of the Emir Khaled Chehab.
- 30 Appointment of new Government under M. Saeb Salaam.

##### May

- 16-17 Visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State.
- 20 Dr. Herbert Nöhring, first West German Minister to the Lebanon, presents credentials.
- 20-25 Meeting at Beirut of Arab League Ministers of Finance and Economics.
- 30 Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.

##### June

- 2 Coronation of Her Majesty The Queen. Celebrations at Beirut and Tripoli.
- 16-17 Visit by the President of the Republic to Jordan.
- 30 Passage through Beirut airport of Her Majesty the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret on their way to Southern Rhodesia.

##### July

- 12 Parliamentary elections, Beirut and Mount Lebanon.
- 16 Return passage through Beirut airport of Her Majesty the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret.
- 19 Parliamentary elections, South Lebanon.
- 23 Murder on the steps of the President's Palace of Mohammed Abboud, parliamentary candidate in North Lebanon.
- 26 Parliamentary elections, North Lebanon.

- July  
28 Signature of Economic Agreement with Yugoslavia.  
31 Iraqi Mission in Beirut raised to status of Embassy.
- August  
6 Arrival of Mr. Harold Johnston on International Bank mission to study creation of a Lebanese development bank.  
6-10 Official visit by I.N.S. Delhi.  
9 Parliamentary elections for two seats, previously postponed through murder of Mohammed Abboud.  
11 Spanish Mission in Beirut raised to status of Embassy.  
11-17 Meeting at Beirut of Palestine Armistice Committees of Arab League States.  
13 Assembly of new Chamber of Deputies. Election of M. Adel Osseiran as President of the Chamber.  
Resignation of M. Saeb Salaam's Government.  
15 Reference by French Government of dispute over Beirut Electricity Company to International Court of Justice at The Hague.  
17 Appointment of new Government under M. Abdullah Yafi.  
22 Defection of M. Karel Stanek, Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires at Beirut.  
27 Arrival at Beirut of the first jet aircraft for Lebanese Air Force, a de Havilland Vampire fighter trainer.
- September  
3 Vote of confidence in new Government by Chamber of Deputies by 31 votes to 4.  
11 Extension for six more months of provisional economic agreement with Syria.  
11 Ratification of Inter-Arab Economic Agreements.
- October  
14 Bomb outrage at a meeting of Moslem and Left-wing organisations protesting against French policy in Morocco.  
17 Kamal Jumblatt and other Opposition leaders unsuccessfully call a general strike in Beirut: the strike is successful in Tripoli and Sidon.  
21 Secret session of Chamber of Deputies decides to protest against renewed Israeli aggressions on Jordan and calls for introduction of compulsory military training in schools.
- October  
21-26 Visit to Beirut by United States Sixth Fleet under Admiral Cassady.  
30 Arrival in Beirut of Mr. Eric Johnston.  
31 Electricity supply crisis becomes critical and, in addition to frequent and prolonged cuts, Government decides to introduce daylight saving time.
- November  
4 The Lebanese budget, outstanding since January, is passed.  
5 Conference on economic union with Syria at Chtaura: Syrians propose a scheme for unified currency.  
9 Death of King Ibn Saud: Lebanese Government declares twelve days' mourning.  
14 Lebanese official delegation visits Jedda to present condolences.  
21 Suleiman el Ali, a former Moslem Deputy and candidate in the July elections implicated in the murder of Mohammed Abboud (his opponent), is sentenced to ten years' hard labour.  
26 The Director of the Beirut Electricity Company arrives to try to negotiate out of court settlement.  
30 Visit of Egyptian Trade Mission.
- December  
3 Mohammed Sheikh, assassin of Mohammed Abboud, is hanged.  
3-8 Visit of British Trade Mission under Sir Edward Benthall.  
8 Ratification of air agreement between Lebanon and Australia.  
10 Arrest of Colonel Ghazi, accused of planning overthrow of Army Command.  
14 Signature of trade agreement with East Germany.  
17 The Prime Minister appeals to Her Majesty's Ambassador to get the Iraq Petroleum Company to offer to negotiate a new transit agreement on a new basis. Similar démarches follow with the United States, French and Dutch representatives.  
26-29 Meeting in Beirut of Arab League Political Committee to discuss Jordanian reply to invitation to talks with Israel under Armistice Agreement.  
27 Further informal talks with Syria on economic union again achieve nothing.  
30 Passage through Beirut of the Right Hon. R. A. Butler, P.C., M.P.

V 1071/43

No. 3

### RECENT TENDENCY TOWARDS THE ADOPTION OF A MORE REALISTIC POLICY TO THE WEST

*Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received July 5)*

(No. 105. Confidential)

Sir,

In my despatch No. 92 of the 9th of June I reported signs of a recent tendency in responsible political circles here (noticeably Parliament) to take the initiative in adopting a more realistic policy towards the West. This tendency owed something to the recent Agreement between Iraq and America for economic and military aid, an agreement which Dr. Fadl el-Jamali's Government entered into, as they were fully entitled to do, without the specific consent of the Arab League.

Beirut,

June 24, 1954.

2. In my telegram No. 348 of the 14th of June I reported that the Lebanese Prime Minister had flown to Amman for the purpose of getting into touch with King Saud (at that time paying an official visit to Amman). My opinion was that the Prime Minister's hurried visit was dictated by fear lest the recently announced Egyptian-Saudi military understanding meant more active intervention to back a military movement in Syria that could be relied upon to adopt a Syrian nationalist policy and not to be beguiled into exploring ways and means of "Arab Union."

3. The Lebanese President, whom I saw shortly afterwards, told me that he had sent his Prime Minister to Amman to counteract the effect of what he described as "distorted reports" of a new tendency in Lebanese foreign policy which had been published in the Arab Press. His Excellency said that during his absence in South America matters had got a little out of hand here. The Lebanon must never forget that it was first and foremost a member of the Arab League. It had a long land frontier with Syria; it was bordering on Israel and half its population was Moslem, while most of the other half claimed to be of Arab origin. The Lebanon must have friendly relations with the West, but these could never be at the price of offending the Arab world. His Excellency went on to say that the Lebanon's traditional role as an interpreter and intermediary could usefully be given scope at present both in arranging differences between the Arab States themselves on the one hand and between the Arab world as a whole and the West on the other. He said that his good offices were available if we thought they would be of any use to us in connection with our dispute with King Saud over Buraimi and, as he had often assured me before, in connection with the Anglo-Egyptian dispute also. I thanked His Excellency and said that I was sure Her Majesty's Government were fully aware of his readiness to help, and we were always grateful for anything the Lebanon felt able to do towards counselling restraint upon fellow members of the Arab League in cases where my country did not see eye to eye with them; but I thought that no useful purpose could possibly be served at present by our pursuing the idea of Lebanese mediation whether over Buraimi or Egypt. The President took this very well; but in Press reports of my interview afterwards (reports which can only have come from the Presidency) the President's expressed willingness to mediate in these two disputes was stressed.

4. It was therefore with some interest that I listened to what the Lebanese Prime Minister volunteered in a long talk I had with him on the 24th of June. Abdullah Bey Yafi said that he had spoken as follows to King Saud. The Lebanon remained faithful to her Arab affiliations and to the policy of the Arab League, but she was at the same time not only much smaller than the other Arab States, but also more Western in character. She could never take sides in disputes between members of the League. Her role there was to mediate. This meant that her interests were to try to preserve the Arab front intact. At the same time her interest required friendly relations with the West, and the Lebanon wished to do everything possible to mediate in differences between the Arab world and the West. In regard to the Eastern Communist bloc, the Lebanon was once and for all against it. In a dispute between the Eastern and Western blocs the Lebanon's place was unequivocally with the West. King Saud had warmly welcomed this declaration and, starting at the end of it, had said that he would decapitate any Communists in Saudi Arabia. He too wanted friendly relations with the West, but these could be firmly established only if and when existing disputes between individual Arab States and individual Western ones, such, for example, as those over Buraimi and Egypt, were resolved. Agreement had to be between the Arab States as a whole and the West as a whole. He therefore agreed with Abdullah Bey about the necessity to maintain a united Arab front and declared himself for what he called the *status quo* in the Arab world. He thought the Arab League was rather shaky at present (and here Abdullah Bey had said that he thought Dr. Fadl el-Jamali had been "undiplomatic" in his handling of the League in regard to both Arab Union and American aid), and a strong bid should be made to restore the position. The suggestion was then put forward that a good way of doing this would be for all the Arab Heads of State to meet together. It was agreed that there should be soundings in the various capitals about this.

5. The Prime Minister was extremely pleased with the outcome of his talk, and evidently expected me to share his sentiments. This, however, I showed some reluctance to do. I pointed out that by aligning itself so strongly with the policy of a united front and support for the *status quo* and the Arab League (under the leadership of Saudi Arabia and Egypt) Lebanon was thereby taking up a position

against Arab Union. I said that Arab Union, we always maintained, was a matter for the people concerned themselves. By it everybody understood some form of union between Syria and Iraq, and possibly Jordan. No one in the Arab world thought it implied more than this. Arab Union was therefore primarily a matter for the Governments and peoples of those three States immediately concerned and I thought we should all be on our guard when anyone, whether Arab or other, not immediately concerned, expressed views for or against it. King Saud's anti-Communist declaration was welcome, but you could not extirpate Communism by beheading Communists. What had His Majesty done in the way of inoculating Arab society against Communism? Saudi Arabian society could not for ever remain static. Was there a plan for progression from patriarchal to some more modern form of government? Was there a plan for social reform? What about the redistribution of wealth? If the Arab peoples were to be saved from Communism or some other form of political extremism, sensible social and political ideas must flow freely in the Arab countries. Too much rigidity meant weakness, not strength, not only for any particular State, but for the Arab world as a whole. This did not mean that I was taking sides for or against union. It meant that I thought the Lebanon would be unwise to align itself with Saudi Arabia and Egypt, whose support of "the *status quo*," as they called it, arose from fear of having a strong, healthy and rich cousin in the north.

6. The Prime Minister replied that he knew that King Saud's motives were dictated by a narrow concept of his own and his family's self-interest and he believed that Saudi and Egyptian secret funds and agents were at work in Syria. He himself had done his utmost during the Shishakli régime to bring about an economic agreement with Syria, but nationalism, especially when equated with military dictatorship, was exclusive, and he did not think there could be agreement with Damascus if the outcome of the present confused situation in Syria should be another military or nationalistic Government. He could not see a solution. Syria was largely divided against itself and the people of Damascus had the isolationist mentality of the inhabitants of an oasis. They were shut in by the desert. The people of Northern Syria, however, were open to East and West, and it was with these that the Lebanese had a natural affiliation. But this was no moment for splitting the Arab world in two. It was the area of agreement rather than of disagreement that needed to be widened, first between the Arabs themselves and then between the Arabs as a whole and the West. He therefore thought the best plan would be for the Arab Heads of State to meet as suggested, and agree to put aside questions such as Arab union for a period of time, say five or ten years, and to take the initiative in establishing a firm foundation for future understanding with the West on the one hand and of defeating Communism in their own countries on the other. He also thought that the Emir Abdul Ilah of Iraq could, if he set about it properly, succeed in convincing King Saud that Arabia had nothing to fear from Iraq. King Saud was a sentimentalist and easily influenced by frankness and sincerity. Once King Saud's fears of Iraq were allayed the Prime Minister thought there would be no insuperable obstacle in the way of northern Arab union though the Prime Minister did not believe it would be so easy to bring Jordan within the plan.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Damascus, Amman, Bagdad, Cairo, Jedda and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

VL 1016/27

No. 4

#### COMMENTS ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF M. SAMI SOLH

*Mr. Scott to Mr. Eden. (Received September 22)*

(No. 160. Confidential)  
Sir,

Beirut,  
September 18, 1954.

I have the honour to state that (as reported in my telegram No. 478 of the 17th of September) the President has called upon M. Sami Solh to form a new

Government. This step has been welcomed in the country as putting an end to a state of uncertainty and indecision which was not only having generally harmful effects, but was becoming increasingly bad for the position and prestige of the President himself. I attach a list of the members of the Cabinet showing their portfolios, together with biographical notes on M. Zouein and M. Naim Moghabghab whose names are not in our current Personalities Report.

2. The new Cabinet is not much better than the old one, except for the presence of M. Charles Helou and M. Muhieddine Nsouli. The other members were either Ministers in the late Cabinet, or are of no higher calibre than their predecessors. M. Sami Solh himself is energetic but impulsive and would have been likely to show to better advantage if he had been surrounded by a stronger team of Ministers; as it is, he is liable to embark on schemes which are unsound because they have been insufficiently studied. Whereas M. Yafi allowed a gradual paralysis of the administration to set in by hesitating often to take positive action, M. Sami Solh will certainly take decisions, but frequently perhaps the wrong ones. He has revived for himself the office of Minister of Planning while keeping himself free from the running of any existing department. It is perhaps worth quoting, as an example of the "new broom" technique which M. Sami Solh will apply, a communiqué issued by the new Minister of Justice and Public Health, which reads as follows:—

"The Minister of Justice and Public Health excuses himself for being unable to receive any personal approaches or any visits of courtesy or congratulation, and for having to decline in advance all invitations.

"At the same time he wishes to point out that any approach made to him will render liable to the penalties of the law both those who make the approach and those who instigated it."

It is, I am afraid, too much to hope that this lofty standard can long be maintained.

3. This is M. Sami Solh's fourth Premiership; and the reluctance of the President to call on him to form a government is perhaps to some extent based on the knowledge that on two previous occasions (in 1942 and 1952) when M. Sami Solh fell from power, so did the President. One must hope that the third time will not be unlucky as the President's term has still four years to run, and M. Sami Solh's Government will certainly not last as long as that.

4. It is expected that the Cabinet will have a comfortable majority in the Chamber, which is in recess until mid-October. It will have to be recalled earlier for the Government to present its programme and obtain a vote of confidence. There is not likely to be any change in Lebanese foreign policy as a result of this change of government: M. Sami Solh has always shown himself most co-operative with us and has maintained his friendliness out of office; and M. Naccache remains Minister for Foreign Affairs. It is perhaps worth recalling that it was M. Sami Solh who signed with the Iraq Petroleum Company the Agreement of 1952 which was never subsequently ratified, partly because he ceased to remain in power.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Damascus, Amman, Bagdad, Cairo and the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

I. D. SCOTT.

#### *Members of Government, September 17, 1954*

Sami Solh.—Prime Minister and Minister of Planning.  
Gabriel el-Murr.—Internal Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister.  
Alfred Naccache.—Foreign Affairs.  
Magid Arslan.—National Defence.  
Charles Helou.—Health and Justice.  
Rachid Karameh.—National Economy and Social Affairs.  
Muhieddine Nsouli.—Finance and Information.  
Selim Haidar.—Agriculture and Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.

Maurice Zouein.—National Education.

A Maronite Deputy. Age 55. Was Director-General of Agriculture for several years; on the death of his father was elected Deputy in 1953. Medium intelligence and doubtful honesty. Jesuit education.

Naim Moughabgab.—Public Works.

Greek Catholic Deputy. Age 47. Lawyer—has been in President's firm of lawyers for twenty years. Loyal to the President. Clever, venal.

VL 1016/28

No. 5

**REPORT ON A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE OBTAINED BY M. SAMI SOLH'S GOVERNMENT IN A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ON SEPTEMBER 18**

*Mr. Scott to Mr. Eden. (Received October 4)*

(No. 167. Confidential)

Beirut,

Sir,

October 1, 1954.

With reference to my despatch No. 160 of the 18th of September I have the honour to report that on the 28th of September M. Sami Solh's Government obtained a vote of confidence in a special session of the Chamber of Deputies by 28 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions. The vote followed M. Solh's presentation of his programme and a debate thereon, in the course of which the Prime Minister announced his intention to ask Parliament for full powers to enable the Cabinet to govern by decree.

2. I enclose a summary of the main points in M. Solh's statement. The theme of the Prime Minister's speech was his determination to get on with the job and substitute action for talk: but the statement itself promises far more than the Government can hope to achieve. The most important points of the programme are:—

- (a) *The proposal to form a Ministry of Planning.*—This Ministry, working in conjunction with the existing (but ineffective) council for Planning and Economic Development, is to give a definite direction to economic planning and development and to exercise overall control over the carrying out of approved projects. By concentrating responsibility M. Solh hopes to overcome the lack of progress which resulted in the past from "improvisation and application of empirical methods which vary with persons."
- (b) *Co-operation with the West.*—M. Solh stressed the hope that the Suez Canal agreement would open an era of collaboration with "friendly countries," and lead to a solution of outstanding problems. He mentioned in particular a solution of the Palestine problem "on the basis of the United Nations resolutions."
- (c) *Economic agreement with Syria.*—M. Solh promised to continue negotiations for an agreement on the basis of "economic union," a phrase vague enough to allay fears of those who oppose "full economic union."
- (d) *Electoral Law.*—The Government proposes to amend the Law by increasing the number of Deputies with a view to "strengthening co-operation among all Lebanese in order to create an atmosphere of agreement and concord." This is an overdue reform, as the small size of the present Chamber makes it unrepresentative of the people. There is no question at present of altering the sectarian basis of representation; but by enlarging the numbers some scope for political manoeuvre will be possible, lack of which has led to an increasing sense of irritation and frustration in public life.
- (e) *Administration.*—The Government promise to overhaul and decentralise the administration, and propose to revoke the "immunity" (from removal) of civil servants, which was introduced as a reform in order to encourage independence in the Civil Service by giving some security to its members. This also implies a defeat for the reforms instituted by President Chamoun.

(f) *Labour.*—M. Solh announced his intention to establish workers' cities (cheap housing projects with facilities for house purchase by instalments) in Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon and the Beka'a.

3. The notable omission from the programme is any reference to oil agreements. Even in the debate which followed, no one brought up the subject.

4. The Prime Minister described his Government's motto as "Action, Production and Achievement" and told the Chamber that in order to achieve results they would have to grant him wide powers to govern by decree. The Government would ask for these powers shortly.

5. The debate preceding the vote of confidence was not of a very high standard. The abstentionists and those who opposed the Government criticised the composition of the Cabinet rather than the Prime Minister himself or his programme. An unusual feature, however, was an open attack by M. Jumblatt, the Socialist Leader, on the President of the Republic who, he implied, had been responsible for the selection of Ministers and in whom the people had lost confidence. Any reference of this sort to the President of the Republic is against the rules of procedure of the Chamber and surprisingly enough no attempt was made by the Speaker or the Prime Minister to stop M. Jumblatt's tirade or to defend the President, until M. Jumblatt had said enough of what he wanted to say, when the Speaker did call him to order. This is an indication of the extent to which the President's stock has fallen as well as of M. Solh's pique at having been kept so long out of office. In winding up the debate M. Solh himself commented, though obliquely, on his opposition to Presidential interference when he said amidst applause that unless he could govern with all the attributes of power which the constitution gave him, he would not stay in power for one minute.

6. When I called on the Prime Minister to congratulate him two days after he had obtained his vote of confidence he explained that he had many other projects which he was anxious to take up—ranging from the construction of a large modern prison for Beirut to a new highway to link Beirut with the Persian Gulf. I suggested that it would be better, in order to avoid giving too many hostages to fortune, if he concentrated at first on making a start with one or two projects for which the plans are ready—such as the Litani irrigation and hydro-electric scheme and the plans for the development of the port of Beirut. But M. Sami Solh is energetic and impulsive and I am afraid that he will try to do too many things too quickly. There is, moreover, no sign yet that he is trying to establish a satisfactory working relationship with the President. Unless that comes about fairly soon, the crisis of authority which, after many weeks, led to the formation of the new Government will persist in a new form: instead of there being no firm hand at the tiller, there will be two helmsmen at work pulling in different directions. Already newspaper articles have begun to appear and rumours to circulate to the effect that the Prime Minister is trying to win over the opposition by tolerating or even encouraging criticism of the President. The omens, therefore, are not very propitious for a period of long and stable government.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo and Tel Aviv and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

I. D. SCOTT.

*Summary of the Statement of Policy made by M. Sami Solh to the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on the 28th of September, 1954*

1. *General.*—The Government intends to adopt and execute many of the projects prepared but not executed by M. Yafi's late Government.
2. *Economic Planning.*—A Ministry of Planning is to be set up to review resources, establish aims and direct the execution of development projects.
3. *Foreign Affairs.*—The Government's policy is to collaborate with Arab countries and with friendly nations in the spirit of the charter of the United Nations. The Government hopes the Suez Canal Agreement will lead to a new era of

collaboration with friendly nations and settlement of outstanding disputes, in particular the solution of the Palestine question "on the basis of United Nations resolutions."

4. *Foreign Trade*.—The Government intends:—

- (a) to develop bilateral agreements with Arab States;
- (b) to expand the inter-Arab trade agreement signed in 1953;
- (c) to follow up the proposal for a trans-Arabian highway (from Beirut to the Gulf, with a branch through Jordan to Medina).

5. *Defence*.—The Government intends to strengthen and re-equip the army within the limits of the money available.

6. *Interior*.—The Government will work to restore respect for law and order. One of the ways by which the Government intends to bring about an atmosphere of peace and respect is to amend the electoral law in order to increase the number of Deputies.

7. *Administration*.—The Government will work for:—

- (a) decentralisation;
- (b) overhaul and simplification of procedure;
- (c) more effective control of civil servants, by removal of their present immunity from discharge;
- (d) reinforcement of the Magistracy.

8. *National Economy*.—The Government will:—

- (a) develop and protect national and cottage industries;
- (b) encourage trade through removal of restrictions;
- (c) negotiate for an agreement with Syria on the basis of economic union;
- (d) promote scientific improvement in farming and marketing of agricultural produce;
- (e) improve rural conditions to discourage emigration from country to town and abroad.

9. *Social Services*.—The Government will try to develop all forms of social services as far as financial and technical resources allow. They will encourage trade unions and employers' unions, develop training facilities for workers and cheap housing projects.

10. *Education*.—The Government will improve and expand free education and revise school programmes to suit the needs of the country.

11. *Press*.—The Government promises close co-operation and freedom of the Press. A new radio station and improved programmes are to be provided.

12. *Post Office*.—All services, including telephones, are to be improved.

13. *Public Works*.—The Government considers that there is nothing wrong with existing projects but what is needed is action. They will therefore:—

- (a) reorganise the department;
- (b) speed up work on major roads, hydro-electric and irrigation works, the airport and development of the electricity supply;
- (c) build five "workers cities" containing cheap and good houses;
- (d) if necessary, turn to private capital for financing their projects.

VL 1783/3

No. 6

### STATE OF GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH WITHIN THE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH

*Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received December 13)*

(No. 205. Confidential)  
Sir,

Beirut,

December 8, 1954.

Although Mr. Shuckburgh during his recent visit here was good enough to receive the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut for half-an-hour there was no time during the Heads of Mission Conference to do more than merely mention the

Greek Orthodox Church in connection with the cold war. It may be therefore that some account of the present state of the Church within the Patriarchate of Antioch will not come amiss. This I have the honour to submit in the present despatch, in the enclosure to which are set down some notes I have collected on the Patriarch and the various Prelates.

2. The general picture is a most disquieting one for in recent months the aged Patriarch, whom we must regard as a Soviet agent to all intents and purposes, has succeeded in winning over to his side at least one Metropolitan who had hitherto been counted among the anti-Communists in the Holy Synod. The Patriarch's influence has been indirectly strengthened by the apparent denial to the Greek Orthodox Church in Lebanon of Point Four Aid. It appears that the sum of U.S.\$140,000 was made available for distribution between religious communities in the Lebanon and although the Orthodox put their claim in early and had every reason to suppose that they would get something they have in fact been awarded nothing. This, according to the Lebanese Government authorities, from whom the Metropolitan of Beirut sought an explanation, was due to an oversight, but many here think it is because of the bad reputation the Patriarch has given the Greek Orthodox Church in American eyes. Whatever the cause the result has undoubtedly been to strengthen the Communist influence by making the needy turn ever more expectantly towards the Patriarch and his Moscow connections.

3. Nevertheless there is some hope, for the Patriarch recently went too far by getting Archbishop Jeha, Metropolitan of Homs, to propose the Archimandrite Semaha for elections as Bishop. Semaha is a Lebanese and a comparatively young man. Since 1948 he has been Patriarchal Vicar in Moscow and it is through him and because of him that the connection between Aleppo and Moscow has developed so strongly. Semaha, however, is disliked and mistrusted, and at a meeting in Damascus on the 29th of November when the Patriarch pressed upon the Archbishop of Beirut and others present his proposal in regard to Semaha, Monseigneur Salibi answered that he would resist this to the bitter end and that in so doing he was sure of the support of a number of his colleagues. They would if necessary cause a split in the Holy Synod. Many think that if the Patriarch should be unwise enough to take up the challenge, the matter will end with his removal and the appointment of a successor. It is, I think, permissible to say that this would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, for it would be regarded by all as a set-back for Moscow.

4. Some play has been made here recently by Orthodox elements friendly to the Patriarch of the recent declaration by Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, to the effect that some party officials had gone too far in their campaign against religion and that there were to be no more insulting attacks offensive to the sentiments of churchgoers and no administrative interference with Church activity, such acts being incompatible with the party line and contrary to the constitutional guarantee concerning freedom of conscience. But on the other side it has been pointed out that this means very little, if anything at all, because in accordance with a decree of the Party's Central Committee signed by Khrushchev, anti-religious propaganda is to continue, religion being still regarded as the opiate of the people and attendance at church a waste of time. On balance therefore the recent relaxation of religious persecution in Russia has served not to assist the Patriarch in his pro-Russian activities, but rather to show men who were not aware of it before under what conditions their fellow Christians live and worship in the Soviet Union.

5. To sum up, the Orthodox Church, in this region at least, has been penetrated by Moscow. Healthy elements are resisting vigorously, but are losing ground. These elements seek our help. The need is urgent and is not being met by what the Church of England is able to do in the way of small-scale assistance with training courses for teachers. Our friends, to stand a fair chance, must be armed with the same weapon as their adversaries are receiving from Moscow, namely money.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Damascus, Ankara, Bagdad, Amman, Washington and Moscow, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

E. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

*In Order of Precedence*

1. *The Patriarch, His Beatitude Alexander III, Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East. President of the Holy Synod*  
Aged 87. Syrian nationality. Has been won completely over to the USSR, his excuse being that he is trying to recover the revenues from Russia cut off in 1917 for lack of which so many Orthodox institutions are falling into decay.
2. *Metropolitan at Tripoli and Dependencies, Theodose Abourgély*  
Aged about 71. Lebanese nationality. Has visited the USSR. Very secretive. Something of an unknown quantity. Always supports the Patriarch in the Holy Synod, but is occasionally critical of him in private. Possibly not a Communist sympathiser but certainly not an anti-Communist.
3. *Metropolitan of Baalbeck, Zahlé and Dependencies, Niphon Saba*  
Aged about 65. Lebanese by naturalisation: originally from Antioch. Impressionable, unstable, materialistic. A clever writer. Well reported upon for his help to British political officers during the war, but, following a recent visit to the USSR, now speaks and writes as one who has seen the light. Reliably reported to have pocketed \$5,000 of Russian money.
4. *Metropolitan of Hama Dependencies, Ignatios Horeika*  
Aged about 65. Lebanese nationality. Ambitious with a dominating character. His nephew is a well-known Syrian Communist. Recently visited the USSR with the Patriarch. Will become a thorn in the flesh if he has been won over to Communism. A possible successor to the Patriarchate.
5. *Metropolitan of Akkar Dependencies, Epiphanius Zayed*  
Aged 60. Syrian nationality. Definitely anti-Communist. Has refused to go to the USSR or accept Russian money from the Patriarch. Has gone to the Argentine for one year to reorganise the Orthodox Church there and prepare the way for the election of an Archbishop.
6. *Metropolitan of Beirut, Elia Saliby*  
Aged 74. Lebanese nationality. Staunchly pro-British all his life and now pro-West generally. A declared opponent of the Patriarch's Russian tendencies. A possible successor to the Patriarch, but not ambitious.
7. *Metropolitan of Lattakieh and Dependencies, Triphon Ghorayeb*  
Aged 68. Syrian nationality. Intelligent. Has never left Lebanon and Syria and is interested only in the work of his Diocese. Quarrelled with the Patriarch four years ago, since when he has not attended the Holy Synod. Greatly respected as a man who has done much for the Church, building schools and colleges, &c. Definitely not pro-Communist.
8. *Metropolitan of Hauran and Jebel Druze, Athenase Kleila*  
Over 75. Syrian nationality. His is an extremely impecunious diocese in which many Orthodox are turning away to become Catholic or Protestant. The Archbishop has twice visited the USSR with the Patriarch but is not a Communist sympathiser. He needs money and will accept it from any quarter.
9. *Metropolitan of Homs and Dependencies, Alexander Jeha*  
Aged 62. Lebanese nationality. Devoted to the Patriarch, with whom he has frequently visited the USSR. Readily takes Russian money and in return praises Communism, but uses the money for the needs of the Church. Recently proposed that Archimandrite Semaha be elected Bishop. Semaha, who is the Patriarchal Vicar in Moscow, is a Communist.
10. *Metropolitan of Jebail-Batroun Dependencies, (usually called Mount Lebanon), Elia Karam*  
Aged 52. A Lebanese national. Was a Bishop at the age of 31. Backed by the French under the Mandate. Is now a fellow-traveller and a very slippery customer.

11. *Metropolitan of New York and all North America, Antonios Bashir*  
Aged about 62. Lebanese nationality. Strongly anti-Communist and is doing all he can to counter Russian aid by himself sending dollars from America. Has undertaken to finance the completion of the building of the Patriarchal Residence at Damascus.
  12. *Metropolitan of Tyre and Sidon Dependencies, Boulos Khouri*  
Aged 62. Lebanese nationality. Anti-Communist. Supporter of the Party Populaire Syrie (i.e., the reunion of the fragments of the former Turkish Vilayet of Syria).
  13. *Metropolitan of Aleppo-Alexandretta Dependencies, Elia Maouad*  
Aged 37. Lebanese nationality. The youngest Bishop. Clever, somewhat under influence of Horeika (No. 3 above), whose pupil he was. Strong personality. Two years in Brazil as Patriarchal Vicar, then became Archimandrite of Aleppo before being consecrated Bishop. Works hard, is probably anti-Communist at heart but has not yet so declared himself.
  14. *Metropolitan of Bagdad and Dependencies, Photios Khouri*  
Aged 78. Lebanese nationality. Well-educated, lazy, wealthy, insignificant.
- Archbishops and Bishops:*
15. *Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio, Samuel David*  
No particular interest. Lebanese national.
  16. *Honorary Bishop of Cilicia, Sergios Samneh*  
No particular interest. Syrian national.
  17. *Honorary Bishop of Edessa, Meletios Soueity*  
Syrian national. Was Archimandrite in the United States. Studied theology in Athens. On bad terms with the Patriarch. Definitely anti-Communist.

## BIOLOGICAL NOTES

VL 1012/2

No. 7

## LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE LEBANON

*Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received June 28)*

(No. 101. Confidential)

Beirut,

Sir,

June 23, 1954.

I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on leading personalities in the Lebanon.

I have, &c.  
E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

Enclosure

## Index of Leading Personalities in the Lebanon

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ibrahim Abdel Ail.          | 48. Ibrahim Haidar.           |
| 2. Habib Abi-Chahla.           | 49. Selim Haidar.             |
| 3. Halim Abou-Izzeddin.        | 50. Georges Haimari.          |
| 4. Joseph Abou-Khater.         | 51. Abdallah Hajj.            |
| 5. Ibrahim Ahdab.              | 52. Georges Hakim.            |
| 6. Nazim Akkari.               | 53. Sabri Hamadé.             |
| 7. Naim Amiouni.               | 54. Said Hamadé.              |
| 8. Fouad Ammoun.               | 55. Joseph Harfouche.         |
| 9. Hussein Aoueiini.           | 56. Chafik Hatem.             |
| 10. George Arida.              | 57. Charles Helou.            |
| 11. Mustapha el-Ariss.         | 58. Khalil Hibri.             |
| 12. Fernand Arsanios.          | 59. Joseph Hitti.             |
| 13. Emir Megid Arslan.         | 60. Joseph Hrawi.             |
| 14. Ahmed el-Assad.            | 61. Sayed Ahmed el-Husseini.  |
| 15. Georges Assi.              | 62. Kemal Joubblatt.          |
| 16. Gabriel Assouad.           | 63. Mlle. Ibtihaj Kaddoura.   |
| 17. Raif Bellama.              | 64. Georges Karam.            |
| 18. Rashid Beydoun.            | 65. Joseph Karam.             |
| 19. Amin Beyhum.               | 66. Rifaat Kazoun.            |
| 20. Mohammed Ali Beyhum.       | 67. Raschid Keramé.           |
| 21. Jawad Boulos.              | 68. Charles Kettaneh.         |
| 22. Philippe Boulos.           | 69. Joseph Khadige.           |
| 23. Emile Boustani.            | 70. Anoir Khatib.             |
| 24. Nicolas Bustros.           | 71. Izzet Khourchid.          |
| 25. Fouad Chader.              | 72. Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury. |
| 26. Camille Joseph Chamoun.    | 73. Elias Khoury.             |
| 27. Camille Nimr Chamoun.      | 74. Emile Khoury.             |
| 28. Joseph Nimr Chamoun.       | 75. Sheikh Fouad el-Khoury.   |
| 29. R. P. Charles de Chamussy. | 76. Sheikh Khalil el-Khoury.  |
| 30. Joseph Charbel.            | 77. Sheikh Sami el-Khoury.    |
| 31. Emir Farid Chehab.         | 78. Sheikh Selim el-Khoury.   |
| 32. General Fouad Chehab.      | 79. Victor Khoury.            |
| 33. Emir Jamil Chehab.         | 80. Salah Lababidi.           |
| 34. Emir Khaled Chehab.        | 81. Selim Lahoud.             |
| 35. Michel Chiha.              | 82. Subhi Mahmassani.         |
| 36. Georges Choueiri.          | 83. Charles Malik.            |
| 37. Ahmed Daouk.               | 84. Nasri Malouf.             |
| 38. Nadim Demechkié.           | 85. Abdallah Mashnouq.        |
| 39. Baron Maxime de Dumast.    | 86. Badri Meoushi.            |
| 40. Pierre Eddé.               | 87. Jamil Mikaoui.            |
| 41. Raymond Eddé.              | 88. Moussa Mobarak.           |
| 42. Jean Fattal.               | 89. Moukhtar Moukaiech.       |
| 43. Hamid Frangié.             | 90. Saadi Mounla.             |
| 44. Moussa de Freige.          | 91. Kamel Mroueh.             |
| 45. Maurice Gemayel.           | 92. Gabriel Murr.             |
| 46. Pierre Gemayel.            | 93. Alfred Naccache.          |
| 47. Colonel Jean Aziz Ghazi.   | 94. Georges Naccache.         |
|                                | 95. Adib Nahas.               |
|                                | 96. General Souleiman Naufal. |
|                                | 97. Muhieddin Nsouli.         |
|                                | 98. Mustapha Nsouli.          |
|                                | 99. Adel Osseiran.            |
|                                | 100. Stephen Penrose.         |
|                                | 101. Henri Pharaon.           |
|                                | 102. General Nouredine Rifai. |
|                                | 103. Mme. Hélène Rihan.       |
|                                | 104. Abdel Rahman Sahmarani.  |
|                                | 105. Mohammed Salam.          |
|                                | 106. Saeb Salam.              |
|                                | 107. Anis Saleh.              |
|                                | 108. Joseph Salem.            |
|                                | 109. Colonel Toufiq Salem.    |
|                                | 110. Joseph Saouda.           |

111. Fouad Sarrouf.
112. Mohammed Shoucair.
113. Sami Shoucair.
114. Abdel Karim Sibahi.
115. Alfred Skaf.
116. Jean Skaf.
117. Kazem Solh.
118. Sami Solh.
119. Takiéddin Solh.
120. Georges Tabet.
121. Jacques Tabet.
122. Mme. Laure Tabet.
123. Maurice Tabet.
124. Bahige Takiéddin.
125. Khalil Takiéddin.
126. Philippe Takla.
127. Colonel Fauzi Traboulsi.
128. Gabriel Trad.
129. André Tuéni.
130. Ghassan Tuéni.
131. Charles Tyan.
132. Abdallah Yafi.
133. Simon Zouéin.
134. Constantin Zuraik.

#### 1. Ibrahim Abdel Aal

Born 1917, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and French School of Engineering, Beirut. Family of Egyptian origin. Engineer by training; civil servant by adoption. Formerly Director-General of Public Works; now Director-General of Concessionary Companies. Intelligent, hard-working and, as far as is known, honest, but without many social graces.

#### 2. Habib Abi-Chahla

Born about 1900, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated American University, Beirut; Lawyer. Formerly supported President Emile Eddé but broke with him in 1943. In November 1943 remained loyal to Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury in his conflict with the French, and headed resistance group in the mountains for the eleven days during which President el-Khoury and his Government were interned; during this period he acted as Head of State. President of the Chamber, 1946-47. Deputy since 1943. Several times a Minister. Now legal adviser to the Tapline Company and very influential in both political and commercial circles, in particular he has many American contacts and is much involved in the political ramifications of the oil business. A notorious womaniser, of which he boasts openly, he holds the Order of Purity and Chastity awarded by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. As a result of a severe heart attack in February 1954 now has to restrict all his activities and will probably be unable to accept any public duties for a long time.

#### 3. Halim Abou-Izzeddin

Born 1913, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated at American University, Beirut. Bachelor. Lebanese Foreign Service; after serving in Cairo transferred to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1950; he became head of the Political Section in 1951 and Chief of Protocol in 1953. Honest, but only moderately intelligent. Much given to promises but less to their performance. Has political ambitions and rather oleaginous manners. Appointed Acting Director-General, Ministry of Information, March 1954. Speaks English.

#### 4. Joseph Abou-Khater

Born Zahlé about 1905; Greek Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and studied law in France. Married. Lawyer. A leader of the anti-Skaf faction in Zahlé. Formerly Lebanese Minister in Mexico; appointed Minister at Rome, 1953. Clever and politically ambitious.

#### 5. Ibrahim Ahdab

Born Beirut 1902; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Former contractor and engineer. Lebanese Minister at Ankara since 1947. Honest and intelligent but indecisive. Transferred to Berne in February 1954.

#### 6. Nazim Akkari

Born 1898, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. The best Civil Servant in the Lebanon. Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office since 1945. Temporarily Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, September 1952. Honest, shrewd and experienced. A most useful and helpful source of advice and information.

#### 7. Naim Amiouni

Born 1916. Worked for some seven years with Iraq Petroleum Company, from which he gained respect for British administrative methods. A career diplomat, has served in Russia and Brazil. Since 1953 has been Assistant Director of Economic Section of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Excellent linguist. Able and ambitious he is co-operative with this Embassy although his political ideas are Leftish. Wife is intelligent and attractive.

#### 8. Fouad Ammoun

Born 1899, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Former judge. Now Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with rank of ambassador. Well educated with a broad mind and good grasp of his profession. Friendly and helpful to this embassy within his powers but not a strong character, and without much apparent influence on policy.

#### 9. Hussein Aouéini

Born 1902, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Greek Catholic College, Beirut. Married. Of humble origins but while still young made a large fortune in Saudi Arabia, where he still has many contacts. He has many other business interests, including, it is said, smuggling. Formerly Deputy, 1947-51. In 1951 formed caretaker Cabinet to supervise elections which he did successfully and honestly. Still regarded as a possible "non-political" Prime Minister but somewhat discredited for his financial connexions with the family of President el-Khoury. Clever but an unprincipled opportunist.

#### 10. George Arida

Born about 1898, in Australia; Maronite; educated abroad, mainly in Australia, Canada and Mexico. Married. Formerly Honorary British Vice-Consul at Tripoli, having returned to his family home there and opened a textile factory which earned him great wealth during the Second World War. His wife has social ambitions (e.g., his daughter is married to Sheikh Khalil el-Khoury (No. 76)) and they are anxious to cut a dash (e.g., their purchase after the war of Hitler's yacht which they sold at a heavy loss). But he himself is a mild and amiable character with little personality.

#### 11. Mustapha el-Ariss

Born 1912, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; primary education only. Married. Trade union leader and agitator. Started life as printer; now chairman of Printers' Union, with strong Communist leanings. Imprisoned several times. Lately in hiding but known to be active and influential behind the scenes, although his influence has somewhat declined with the growing organisation of non-Communist trade unions.

#### 12. Fernand Arsanios

Born 1898, Batroun; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Judge. *Persona non grata* under President el-Khoury. Appointed Procureur Général of the Supreme Court in February 1953; well known for his honesty and political independence.

#### 13. Emir Megid Arslan

Born about 1908, Choueifat; Druze; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Widower. Anti-German during the war; helped resist Vichy France. Several times Minister since 1943 as Druze representative, loyal to President el-Khoury; bitter opponent of Kemal Joublatt. A cheerful, uneducated and highly venal feudal chieftain with a boyish passion for dressing-up and firearms. In the habit of smuggling cattle into Israel. Again Minister in the second Yafi Cabinet under the Chamoun régime. Accompanied President on his visit to South America in May 1954.

#### 14. Ahmed el-Assad

Born 1905, Taibé, South Lebanon; Shia Moslem; primary education only. Married to the clever daughter (who never appears in public) of his uncle, from whom he has inherited the feudal paramountcy in South Lebanon. Several times Minister since 1941; President of the Chamber of Deputies from 1951 until October 1953. Although he puts on a pro-British façade and speaks some English, he is an unprincipled rogue with only crafty cunning, who has done very well out of the balance of power in the Lebanon and is opposed to any real reform. Despite his official position, he undermines authority by all lucrative means, including the sale of parliamentary seats and smuggling on the Israel border.

#### 15. Georges Assi

Born 1908, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. A municipal official until January 1953 when he was appointed Mohafez of Beirut. Married to a sister of Habib Abi-Chahla (No. 2). Quite presentable. Honest and energetic but not very intelligent.

#### 16. Gabriel Assouad

Born 1896, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. A Civil Servant; appointed Director-General of the Interior in January 1953. Honest but weak; lacks initiative and personality. Unintelligent and servile to the powers that be.

#### 17. Raif Bellama

Born 1897, Beirut; Maronite; educated American University, Beirut. Married. Lecturer in bacteriology at American University, Beirut. Minister of Education, 1949. Appointed Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League in 1953. Witty and a good speaker but a political light-weight.

#### 18. Rashid Beydoun

Born about 1897, Beirut; Shia Moslem; primary education. Married. Deputy since 1943. Twice Cabinet Minister. A genial Moslem hack politician of no great significance. Has founded, partly with his own money, a large Shia Moslem college in Beirut.

#### 19. Amin Beyhum

Born 1907, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Elected Deputy 1951 but has since greatly disappointed his electors and has never spoken in the Chamber. Did not stand for the 1953 legislative elections.

#### 20. Mohammed Ali Beyhum

Born 1889, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. A prominent Moslem whose valour is liable to outrun his discretion.

#### 21. Jawad Boulos

Born 1900, Tripoli; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Deputy and Minister for Foreign Affairs under French Mandate. Now an unsuccessful and disgruntled ex-politician posing as an elder statesman, ready to resume office *pour sauver la patrie*. Engaged in writing an interminable History of the Near East (he has now reached about 3,000 B.C.) about which, as most other things, he is a crashing bore.

#### 22. Philippe Boulos

Born 1902, North Lebanon; Greek Orthodox. Married. Lawyer and politician. Several times Minister since 1941. A safe figure for a Greek Orthodox vacancy in any Government; in the intervals resumes his place as a judge. Vice-President of the Chamber since 1952. Failed in legislative elections of 1953. Colourless with an affable veneer.

#### 23. Emile Boustani

Born 1907, Sidon; Maronite (with Protestant intervals when it suits him); educated American University of Beirut and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Married to a pleasant redhead. A self-made contractor of great wealth. Head of the C.A.T. (Contracting and Trading) Company with ramifications in the Arab countries and Persian Gulf. Rootes's agent at Beirut. Deputy since 1951. Strong Pan-Arabist posing as a "candid friend" of Britain with the accent on "candid." Anxious to be President of the Republic, he makes his commercial interests serve his political ambitions and *vice versa*. His main line is to gain popularity and notoriety by consistent opposition to the powers that be. The *enfant terrible* of Lebanese politics, he should not be trusted out of eyesight or earshot but his skin is so thick that he is quite an engaging rogue. Speaks excellent English.

#### 24. Nicolas Bustros

Born 1896, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite of a rather effeminate type. Entered official life as Chief of Protocol to the President of the Republic, 1937. Resigned 1938. Re-appointed 1943; later transferred in same capacity to Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1949. Holds rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Active in intrigues leading to fall of President el-Khoury in September 1952. A quarrelsome chatterbox but intelligent and well informed, with pleasant social manners.

#### 25. Fouad Chader

Born 1910. Has spent the greater part of his career in the Customs, where he established a reputation for honesty and good administration. Has been Director of Civil Aviation since 1953. Is friendly and intelligent.

#### 26. Camille Joseph Chamoun

Born 1903, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Bachelor. Journalist and president of the Lebanese Press Syndicate. An amiable and comparatively honest individual who is well informed by virtue of his job and whose rather foxy and shifty appearance is probably misleading.

#### 27. Camille Nimir Chamoun

Born 1901, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married to the former Zelfa Tabet, an attractive woman of mixed Irish and

Lebanese extraction; his sons have been educated in England. President of the Republic since September 1952; formerly lawyer and politician. Minister of the Interior, September 1943; arrested by the French November 1943, since when strongly prejudiced against France. Lebanese Minister in London 1944-47. Minister of Finance 1947 and of the Interior 1947 to May 1948. The most consistent leader of the Opposition to President el-Khoury from 1948 to September 1952, when he was himself elected President, defeating Hamid Frangié. Although honest and with genuine reformist sympathies, he has proved too weak so far to pursue a consistent policy as President. Of attractive presence, he has relied too much on his personal popularity and has been a disappointment to the Opposition and the despair of the old political bosses whom he refuses to consult. Despite his British connexions and superficial Anglicisms, his foreign policy has been largely dominated by Arab sentiments, although he would undoubtedly support the West in any conflict with communism. His attractive personality makes excellent first impressions, especially on women, but his intellectual woolliness tends to become exasperating. Speaks excellent English.

### 28. Joseph Nimr Chamoun

Born 1896, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères and American University of Beirut. Married. Brother of President Camille Chamoun. Director-General of Public Works 1944-48. Director-General of Inspection Department since June 1952, for which rôle he is utterly unsuited. An industrious subordinate.

### 29. R. P. Charles de Chamussy

Born about 1903; Père Recteur (Head) of St. Joseph's University (Jesuits). While a convinced French Jesuit, he has charming manners and is always friendly to this embassy.

### 30. Joseph Charbel

Born 1896, Zahlé; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse. Bachelor. Procureur Général 1943-52. Now President of the Conseil d'Etat. Victim of an aggression by a member of the P.P.S., as a result of which he lay in hospital for several months. Honest and well educated but without much moral courage.

### 31. Emir Farid Chehab

Born 1909; Maronite; educated privately. Married. Head of Counter Espionage Department under the French Mandate. Imprisoned by Free French for contacts with Vichy 1942-43. Re-entered Police Department 1943 and became Director of Sûreté Générale 1948. A good linguist who gets on well with the British, but is not as deeply imbued with a sense of civic duty as he would have them believe. Extravagant and somewhat of a playboy but honest and conscientious.

### 32. General Fouad Chehab

Born 1901, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères Maristes, Jounieh. Married to a French wife. Trained in the French army and Commander-in-chief of the Lebanese Armed Forces since 1945. Gained great prestige for keeping the peace during "revolution" of September 1952, when he was temporarily Prime Minister. Honest and loyal and determined to preserve the political independence of the army. His personal charm is greater than his intelligence and he is the exasperation of his more politically-minded subordinates.

### 33. Emir Jamil Chehab

Born 1898, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères Maristes, Jounieh. Married. Civil Servant who served in Finance and Customs departments with distinction. Now head of Cour des Comptes (Audit Department). Although hard-working and conscientious, his obstinacy and narrow-mindedness have brought him into trouble with his superiors. But his independent judgment is valued by the I.P.C.

### 34. Emir Khaled Chehab

Born 1891, Hasbaya; Sunni Moslem; primary education. Married. Formerly Prime Minister and President of the Chamber under the French Mandate. Lebanese Minister at Amman 1948-52 when he was recalled by President Chamoun to become Prime Minister. Resumed his duties at Amman, with the rank of Ambassador in 1953. Honest and possessed of a certain peasant shrewdness, but his weakness and a certain appearance of imbecility were not calculated to inculcate respect for his Government. He is, however, well meaning and friendly.

### 35. Michel Chiha

Born 1893, Beirut; Roman Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Banker and journalist. Brother-in-law of President el-Khoury and close political associate of Henri Pharaon (No. 101). Through his daily article in *Le Jour* (which he owns) he is a vigorous advocate of Christian influence in the Lebanon and of co-operation with the West (subject to the usual Arab reservations on such things as Palestine). As a young man he lived in Manchester and has a deep respect for the liberal thought and culture of Western Europe, but his philosophy shows Thomist trends and his mind has the authoritarian bent of his Jesuit training. As a director of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban, he takes a close and shrewd interest in financial affairs but with the fall of President el-Khoury he has lost political influence and, being already remote from popular contacts, has withdrawn increasingly into his ivory tower. When he emerges, he is a man of charm and culture and an excellent talker in English and French.

### 36. Georges Choueiri

Born 1909, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University of Beirut. Merchant. Appointed municipal councillor in 1951 but soon resigned "finding the whole thing too dirty to work in." Again appointed municipal councillor in February 1953 and elected Vice-President of Beirut Municipality. Very honest and straightforward.

### 37. Ahmed Daouk

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Prime Minister 1941-42 but lost influence through weakness and incompetence. Appointed Lebanese Minister in Paris 1944 and promoted Ambassador in 1953. Often spoken of as a possible "neutral" Prime Minister.

### 38. Nadim Demechkié

Born 1915, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married to an English wife. Lebanese Foreign Service. Served London, Ottawa, and Cairo where he has been Lebanese Chargé d'Affaires since 1953. An able and likeable young man, he is inclined to advocate Arab nationalist views and wishes to enter political life. Speaks good English.

### 39. Baron Maxime de Dumast

Born about 1890. Formerly a general in the French air force and "chef de Cabinet" to the

French Air Minister. Since 1946 managing director of the French concessionary Port Company of Beirut. A busy little man with pleasant manners who runs a good show and does much for its public relations.

### 40. Pierre Eddé

Born 1920, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Son of late President Emile Eddé; married 1950 a rich Lebanese of Brazil. Politician and champion of Christian rights in the Lebanon. Although active in politics ever since his childhood, his first entry into public life was his election as Deputy of Mount Lebanon in 1951. Minister of Finance under A. Yafi from August 1953 to March 1954. Shrewd and intriguer.

### 41. Raymond Eddé

Born 1918, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Lawyer. Elder son of President Emile Eddé from whom he inherited leadership of the Francophile "Bloc National." Elected Deputy in July 1953. Honest and likeable.

### 42. Jean Fattal

Born 1903, Damascus; Syrian Catholic; educated in Austria. Married. Merchant and part owner of a firm of commission agents in Damascus and Beirut. Personally honest but a shrewd money-maker with his ear close to the political ground.

### 43. Hamid Frangié

Born 1905, Zghorta; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli, and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician and Deputy. Since 1941 several times Minister, usually of Foreign Affairs. One of the main leaders of the Christian faction in North Lebanon. Although at first a sturdy champion of an independent Lebanon, has steadily repaired his fences with the French and was backed by them to succeed President el-Khoury in 1952, after he had tentatively come out in support of the Opposition. His disappointment at not being elected led to a partial estrangement with President Chamoun and his interest turned largely to building up his fortunes as a corporation lawyer, but he is still quite young and intelligent, with a wide knowledge of Western European culture and he cannot fail to return as a political force in the future. Although a true Lebanese he is more able than most to look at events through international spectacles.

### 44. Moussa de Freige

Born 1910, Beirut; Roman Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Has the hereditary papal title of Marquis which he likes to use. A wealthy socialite and race-horse owner, connected with the family of President el-Khoury and unpopular among Moslems. Has assumed responsibility for direction of *Le Jour* on behalf of his uncle, Michel Chiha (No. 35). Speaks English.

### 45. Maurice Gemayel

Born 1910, Bikfaya; Maronite; educated Jesuit University and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Lawyer. Leading Phalangist; cousin and brother-in-law of Pierre Gemayel (No. 46). Seeks to promote irrigation and electrical schemes. Relatively honest and intelligent.

### 46. Pierre Gemayel

Born about 1909, Bikfaya; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Leader of the Phalange Movement which affects extreme Christian and Lebanese nationalist in opposition to Moslem Pan-Arab ideas. Although one of the most vigorous,

reformist politicians outside the Chamber, he is probably more noisy than influential. A director of *Amal*.

### 47. Colonel Jean Aziz Ghazi

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Egypt and French Army Schools. Married to a French wife. Although next in seniority to General Chehab in Lebanese army has little say in its affairs. A pleasant and vigorous personality, but discipline seems to irk him and he is inclined to rather loose anti-Western talk, which may reflect political ambitions and restlessness in his present job. Speaks English. In January 1954 was accused of preparing a military *coup* directed against his Commander-in-Chief and, as a result of this, was put on pension without being court-martialled.

### 48. Ibrahim Haidar

Born 1888, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; educated locally and in France. Married. Several times Deputy and Minister, but failed in 1953 legislative elections. A tiny little man whose bumptiousness and seniority in the Chamber gives his remarks more weight than they deserve. A crafty and dishonest political intriguer who lost his last ministerial post for complicity in hashish smuggling.

### 49. Selim Haidar

Born 1912, Baalbek; Shia Moslem. Doctor of law, Paris. Judge and poet turned politician, with an attractive and lively wife. Lebanese Minister in Tehran from 1948 till October 1952, when he became Cabinet Minister. Elected Deputy in 1953. An amiable and gentle but colourless figure with intellectual leanings.

### 50. Georges Haimari

Born 1898, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. "Chef de Cabinet" to the President of the Republic 1920-43 and from 1945. O.B.E. 1947. Chairman of Lebanese Government Commission on Palestine Refugees since 1948. Honest until a few years ago when he began to feather his own and his family's nest. Much under the influence of his father confessors but very friendly and helpful to the British. He is rather an old woman and his relations with President Chamoun, though strained at first, are now steadily improving.

### 51. Abdallah Hajj

Born 1898, Ghobairi (near Beirut); Shia Moslem, educated American University of Beirut. Married. School-teacher in Bagdad, then a politician. Elected Deputy in 1951 in the Opposition list where he still belongs and re-elected in 1953. Dishonest but dynamic. A rather unsavoury character with a nuisance value in politics.

### 52. Georges Hakim

Born 1914, Tripoli, Greek Orthodox; educated at American University of Beirut. Married to an American wife. Professor and politician; after teaching economics at the American University of Beirut joined Lebanese Foreign Service and served at Lebanese Legation at Washington and the permanent Lebanese delegation at the United Nations. Appointed Minister of Finance and National Economy October 1952; also Foreign Minister in February 1953. Honest and very intelligent, but stubborn and inclined to take an academic approach. Holds Left-wing economic views which he applies skilfully and with more political sense than appears at first sight. Since January 1954 has undergone several surgical operations, and is still in hospital.

As during the past year, the state of his health will probably prevent him from taking any part in Lebanese politics for some time to come.

#### 53. Sabri Hamadé

Born about 1903, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married to daughter of Ahmed al-Assad (No. 14). Deputy and former Minister. President of the Chamber of Deputies 1943-46 and 1948-51. A crude and venal politician whose local influence in the Bekaa gives him a nuisance value. A notorious hashish smuggler and one of the principal targets of the reformers.

#### 54. Saïd Hamadé

Born about 1895, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated American University of Beirut. Widower. Professor of applied economics, American University of Beirut. The Laski of the Lebanon (in moderation). Inspires the generally Left-wing economic views of such people as Georges Hakim and Kemal Joubblatt. But a very gentle revolutionary with much charm and a good command of English.

#### 55. Joseph Harfouche

Born 1914, Beirut Maronite. Unmarried. Educated Jesuit University. Served in French Consulate-General in Cairo until 1945, when he was attached to Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Has served as Chargé d'Affaires in Brussels and as Minister to the Holy See. Appointed head of the Political Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1953. Strongly anti-Communist and pro-Western in political outlook. Anxious to promote closer relations between Lebanon and the Western Powers. Intelligent, friendly but slightly superficial.

#### 56. Chafik Hatem

Born 1910, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Judge. Senior and leading official of the Ministry of Justice until February, 1953, when he became acting Director-General of that Ministry. An efficient subordinate who knows how to make himself useful, especially to President Chamoun, as a draftsman and expert on legal matters. Although fairly honest, he is a time-server and intriguer.

#### 57. Charles Helou

Born 1912, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Closely associated on *Le Jour* with Michel Chiha who is also his political patron. Lebanese Minister to the Holy See 1947-49; Minister for Foreign Affairs 1951-52. An intelligent and patriotic Lebanese of the Christian persuasion with a close eye on his own advancement.

#### 58. Khalil Hibri

Born 1907, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Wealthy businessman (cars and real estate). Arab nationalist but makes no secret of his belief in co-operation with the British. Spends lavishly to ensure his popularity among lower class Moslems of Beirut. Influential in Moslem organisations. Opposed A. Yafi in the 1953 elections but failed. Honest, loyal and generous.

#### 59. Joseph Hitti

Born 1896, Shemlan; Maronite; educated American University of Beirut, followed by medical studies in the United States of America and Canada. Married. Brother of Professor Philippe Hitti, the Arab historian, of Princeton University. United States of America. Elected Deputy in 1947; stood again in 1951 but failed. Honest and a good physician without much personality or presence.

His judgment in political matters is somewhat distorted by personal disappointments. But he makes himself useful as a political go-between and "fixer."

#### 60. Joseph Hrawi

Born 1893, Zahlé; Maronite; primary education only. Married. Ex-Deputy; formerly Minister of Agriculture and Posts and Telegraphs. Sympathises with the Communists but claims that it is only for electoral purposes. A born subordinate.

#### 61. Sayed Ahmed el-Husseini

Born 1888, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; primary education. Married. Ex-Deputy and former Minister. He speaks neither English nor French and cuts very little ice, although nobody seems to know very much against him.

#### 62. Kemal Joubblatt

Born 1914, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married to a lively and intelligent member of the Arslan clan. Deputy since 1943 and feudal leader of the Druze faction opposed to the Arslans. He is also leader of the Socialist and Progressive Party and the principal exponent of ideological socialism in the Lebanon, which he expounds on the platform and through his newspaper *Al Anba*. His party symbol is the crossed pick-axe and pencil. His reformist views and his personal attacks were a main motive force leading to President el-Khoury's fall in September 1952. But he has since not concealed his disappointment with the slow progress of reform under President Chamoun. He is working hard to increase his following in the Chamber after new elections but it is hard to know how much of his influence is ideological and how much depends on his position as a Druze chieftain. He is closely interested in Asiatic currents of thought, particularly in Indian mysticism but at the same time he is quite a shrewd, practical politician whose social and economic theories, if extreme, are consistent and well argued. Although opposed to communism he is inclined to neglect the dangers of his Left-wing neutralism. While of uncouth appearance and a fiery demagogue in public, he has gentle and unassuming manners in private conversation. His devotion to his cause and his mystical practices are probably ruining his health, but while he lasts he is likely to remain one of the most interesting figures in the Lebanon.

#### 63. Mile. Ibtihaj Kaddoura

Born 1898, Beirut; Sunni Moslem. Leading member of various feminist organisations. Appointed municipal councillor February 1953. Honest and well meaning.

#### 64. Georges Karam

Born 1897, Beirut; Maronite; educated Antoura College (Lazarists). Married. Rich timber merchant and large share-holder in Air Liban. Elected Deputy 1951 but failed in the 1953 elections. The fact that he was once imprisoned for a false Customs declaration has been conveniently forgotten. Neither honest nor intelligent but shrewd at making money. Vain and mean but quite presentable socially.

#### 65. Joseph Karam

Born 1899, Zghorta; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Married. The principal contender with Hamid Frangié for leadership of the Christians in North Lebanon. Deputy since 1944 but failed in the 1953 elections. Rather weak character.

#### 66. Rifaat Kazoun

Born about 1908, Bekaa; Sunni Moslem; educated Lycée Français. Married. Ex-Deputy since 1943.

Venial and a known arms smuggler, he is also a fanatical Moslem and was arrested in December 1952 for complicity in the murder of a Christian lawyer during municipal elections.

#### 67. Raschid Keramé

Born 1923, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; has law degree from Cairo. Bachelor. Feudal leader who inherited political influence and prestige in Tripoli of his father, Abdel Hamid Keramé, but which he has not yet consolidated. Deputy since 1951; has served as Minister of Justice and National Economy. An ardent advocate of economic union with Syria, he has failed to achieve anything concrete. Weak, vain and moderately intelligent but honest and well meaning.

#### 68. Charles Kettaneh

Born 1905, Jerusalem; Roman Catholic; educated American University of Beirut. Married to a charming and intelligent wife. Member of the important merchant firm of Kettaneh Frères. Although scrupulous in his personal dealings he is a tough and ruthless businessman. Has shrewd business sense but outside this field his judgment is fallible. Very wealthy and generous.

#### 69. Joseph Khadige

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. President of the Merchants' Association. A strong and shrewd champion of Lebanon's commercial independence of her Moslem neighbours. Taciturn and straightforward.

#### 70. Anoir Khatib

Born 1903, Shehim; Sunni Moslem; educated School of Law, Damascus. Formerly judge, then practised as lawyer. Prominent member of the Socialist Progressive Party of Kemal Joubblatt; ex-Deputy. Fairly intelligent and relatively honest.

#### 71. Izzet Khourchid

Born 1902, Beirut (of family with Turkish origins); Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Beirut. Married. Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1945-52, with intervals as Chief of Police. Now Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Honest and civilised, he tends to be used to lend respectability to a Department which has lost face.

#### 72. Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury

Born 1892, Beirut (with family origins in Mount Lebanon); Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. After bitter opposition to President Eddé and several terms as Prime Minister under French Mandate, he became the first independent President of the Lebanese Republic in 1943, and stood firmly against French pretensions in that year, being interned for his pains. Throughout his term of office he remained grateful for British support at that time. As President he showed great skill in manipulating the balance of political forces in the country and in thereby maintaining himself as the dominant factor in public life. But his inability to say "no" to his family (wife, brothers, son and remoter relatives) led to his régime becoming a synonym for corruption and nepotism. His increasingly blind self-confidence led him to resent and to try to suppress the criticism and clamour for reform and so brought him into conflict with the press and public opinion. During 1952 the opposition to him gradually gained momentum and forced him to resign in September, since when he has retired into private life, although reputed still to take a close, indirect interest in politics. In foreign affairs he had remained consistently pro-Western and anti-Communist throughout his term of office. His short-

comings as President derived mainly from weakness and inability to rise above the moral standards of those who surrounded him; but he had been a clever and successful lawyer; he conducted public business with efficiency and despatch and he is kindly and amiable in private contacts.

#### 73. Elias Khoury

Born 1898, Mount Lebanon; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Married. Prominent in medical organisations and good works. Ex-Deputy and former Minister of Health. Honest and well meaning but, as far as his political ambitions go, rather a burnt-out volcano owing to his close connexions with President el-Khoury.

#### 74. Emile Khoury

Born about 1887; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Bachelor. Journalist and diplomatist. Formerly foreign correspondent of Egyptian paper *El-Ahram*. Lebanese Minister at Rome 1948-53. Intelligent but not trusted.

#### 75. Sheikh Fouad el-Khoury

Born 1894, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Wealthy merchant with a finger in almost every commercial pie. Brother of President el-Khoury whom he supported financially on the way up. During his brother's term of office greatly increased his already substantial fortune.

#### 76. Sheikh Khalil el-Khoury

Born 1923; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married to the rich and charming former Jacqueline Arida, daughter of George Arida (No. 10). Elder son of President el-Khoury and member of his law firm. Made a large fortune by exploiting his privileged position during his father's presidency. He has since decided to lie rather low. He is well versed in the technique of corrupt political intrigue, but his methods are so tortuous that they tend to become transparent.

#### 77. Sheikh Sami el-Khoury

Born 1895, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Brother of President el-Khoury. Formerly in Department of Justice. Secretary-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1944-45. Lebanese Minister at Cairo 1945-52; at Brussels and The Hague since December 1952. A neat little man with no great intelligence or personality.

#### 78. Sheikh Selim el-Khoury

Born 1896, Rashmaya; Maronite; educated at Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Brother of President el-Khoury, during whose presidency he exercised great influence behind the scenes and came to be known as "the Sultan." Though he never attended the Chamber he controlled eleven votes there. He thus made himself one of the main targets of the reformers. Little is heard of him now and he is presumably resting on his tarnished laurels.

#### 79. Victor Khoury

Born 1903, Hadeth; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and in Mexico. Bachelor whose sister acts as hostess. Formerly lawyer. In 1944 appointed Counsellor at Lebanese Legation at London; Minister in 1947 and Ambassador in 1953. Not a very strong character but makes good use of his amiable social manners.

#### 80. Salah Lababidi

Born 1896, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Civil Servant, formerly Subdistrict Governor (Kaimakam) of Baalbek. Appointed Chief of Police of Beirut.

March 1953. Arabic scholar; honest and energetic; a great friend of Abdallah Yafi.

#### 81. Selim Lahoud

Born 1912. Maronite. Chief engineer of the Water Company of Beirut. Studied engineering at the Ecole des Arts et Métiers of Lille, France. Elected Deputy of Mt. Lebanon in a by-election in April 1954. Honest and hard worker.

#### 82. Subhi Mahmassani

Born 1908, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Lycée Français, American University of Beirut and French School of Law. Married. A judge until 1947 when he resigned to stand unsuccessfully for Parliament. Now practises law; legal adviser to Point IV in the Lebanon. A clean and clever lawyer.

#### 83. Charles Malik

Born 1906, North Lebanon; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut and Harvard. Married. Formerly professor of philosophy and science, American University of Beirut. Since 1945 Lebanese Ambassador at Washington, and Permanent Representative at the United Nations. He has attracted much attention by public speaking in the United States and has built up for himself an influential position in Washington. His reputation in his own country has also gained through his long absence from the scene. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. Despite his academic background he now undoubtedly has political ambitions (if he fails to pull off a big United Nations job).

#### 84. Navri Malouf

Born 1911, Mount Lebanon; Greek Catholic; educated Syrian School of Law of Damascus. Bachelor. Lawyer, journalist and politician. Prominent member of the National Appeal Party. Part-owner of *Al Jarida* newspaper; brilliant writer and orator in Arabic. Honest and proud of his independence but lazy. Susceptible to feminine influence.

#### 85. Abdallah Mashmouq

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Journalist, formerly principal of the Moslem Makassed College of Beirut. Owns and edits *Beirut al-Massa*. Edits a weekly magazine *Oil* for the I.P.C. A fanatic on the subject of Islam and a strong supporter of Syro-Lebanese union. Clever and a strong personality, but venal (although discreetly). Speaks good English.

#### 86. Badri Meoushi

Born 1902; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. President of the High Court since 1950. Only moderately clever but is honest and has proved independent of political influence as a judge.

#### 87. Jamil Mikaoui

Born 1911, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Lycée Français, Beirut. Married to a French wife. Influential among younger Moslems and formerly leader of the Moslem nationalist Najjad Party. Served at Lebanese Legation at London, and Minister at Berne from 1946 until 1953 when he resigned, stood for the 1953 elections and failed to be elected. Superficially unattractive but ambitious.

#### 88. Moussa Mobarak

Born 1901, Antoura; Maronite; educated Lazarist College, Antoura. Married to an intelligent wife. Closely associated with the French Mandatory authorities 1923-41. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" to President el-Khoury 1943. In charge of Customs Department since 1944 except for an interlude from

September 1952 to February 1953 when he was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Despite his French culture and connexions he is consistently friendly to the British and is honest and independent. He is almost unique in the Lebanon as having resigned a Ministerial portfolio on a point of principle, and he stands well with both former President el-Khoury and President Chamoun. Intelligent and excellent company, but given to talking too much and thus occasionally dropping bricks.

#### 89. Moukhtar Moukaiech

Born 1901, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Bachelor. Formerly lawyer. Interned for pro-German activities 1942. Served diplomatic posts including Washington, Ankara and Ottawa. Appointed Consul-General at Marseilles in 1954. Fanatical Moslem. Intelligent but restless and dissatisfied with his lot.

#### 90. Saadi Mounla

Born 1895, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Tripoli. Bachelor. Landowner and politician. Deputy and former Minister. Prime Minister in 1946. Appointed Co-Guardian of the Electricity Company of Beirut in 1953. A genial old muddle-head who recently was trying to develop financial connexions with the Persian Gulf.

#### 91. Kamel Mroueh

Born 1916; Shia Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Journalist; now editor of *Hayat* and *The Daily Star*. Broadcast from Berlin in the war. Violently nationalist. A clever and unscrupulous journalist, not to be trusted. Speaks excellent English. An Arab union enthusiast.

#### 92. Gabriel Murr

Born 1895; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Minister since August 1953. Served in United States Army in First World War. Returned to Lebanon in 1922 and became cinema proprietor. Deputy 1943-51-53. Several times Minister. Honest and well meaning.

#### 93. Alfred Naccache

Born 1894, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Formerly lawyer and President of the Court of Appeal. President of the Lebanese Republic under French Mandate 1941-43 when dismissed by General Catroux. Deputy 1943-47, re-elected Deputy in 1953. A Minister for Foreign Affairs since August 1953. Has done some political journalism. He is much under Jesuit influence but his opposition to President el-Khoury commends him to President Chamoun who often consults him. He is absolutely honest but neither a strong character nor a capable administrator.

#### 94. Georges Naccache

Born 1903, Alexandria; Maronite; educated Jesuit College, Alexandria. Married. Formerly civil engineer; now newspaper owner and journalist. Part-proprietor of *L'Orient* since 1924. Writes well and is clever; but gambles and is venal.

#### 95. Adib Nahas

Born 1903, Tripoli; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Married. Government servant. Formerly Director-General of the Interior and Mohafez of South Lebanon. Lebanese Minister at Buenos Aires 1948-53, and now Minister at Rio de Janeiro. A first-rate official, honest, intelligent, capable and pro-British. O.B.E. 1947.

#### 96. General Souleiman Naufal

Born 1900, Merjayoun; Greek Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Served in the

Lebanese Army under the French Mandate. Appointed head of the Gendarmerie 1941 and dismissed after collaborating with the French in November 1943. Formerly Director-General, Ministry of National Economy, and then Minister of National Economy 1947-48. Now controls the Capitole Cinema and does some journalism. Honest and capable, he believes strongly in maintaining the Christian position in the Lebanon if necessary by authoritarian methods.

#### 97. Muhieddin Nsouli

Born 1900, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Journalist. Owns and edits newspaper *Beirut*. Former Deputy. Minister of Information under Sa'eb Salam from April until August 1953. Interned as Axis sympathiser 1941 but is now strong supporter of co-operation with the West against communism. Despite his Arab loyalties, is ready to take a moderate line on such things as Palestine and Middle East defence. Speaks English. Has visited England.

#### 98. Mustapha Nsouli

Born 1916, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Wife does not go out. Civil Servant; joined Lebanese Administration in 1944 after working in his father's firm (glassware). Appointed Director-General of National Economy in February 1953. Honest and intelligent. Speaks English and is in close touch with United States Embassy; but also most helpful to this embassy. Accompanied Lebanese President on his visit to South America in May 1954.

#### 99. Adel Osseiran

Born 1903, Sidon; Shia Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Landowner and lawyer. Rival leader to Ahmed el-Assad in South Lebanon. Elected Speaker of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies in 1943. Close political associate of Camille Chamoun (now President) from 1943. Strong Arab nationalist, especially on Palestine, but friendly to Britain. A strong character, blunt and uncompromising. Speaks excellent English.

#### 100. Stephen Penrose

Born about 1898; Protestant. Married. President of the American University of Beirut since 1949. Smooth and friendly on the surface with the usual high-minded American academic ideals. But prepared on occasion to push American intellectual and political wares at the expense of other Western interests.

#### 101. Henri Pharaon

Born 1902, Beirut; Greek Catholic; educated privately and Jesuit University, Beirut. Widower. Banker, politician and race-horse owner, in ascending order of interest. Ex-Deputy and several times Minister, usually of Foreign Affairs. He is related to President el-Khoury under whose régime he established himself as one of the principal "robber barons." By lavish expenditure poses as champion of Christian lower classes in Beirut. Homosexual and not above employing gangsters or bribery, he represents the worst type of Middle Eastern politician with whom we have to deal. Nevertheless, although he is off the political stage for the time being, he believes in co-operation with the West and has spoken in favour of Middle East defence.

#### 102. General Nouredine Rifai

Born about 1895, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Beirut. Married. Served in the Gendarmerie. Formerly Mohafez of  
48195

North Lebanon. Appointed Director of Internal Security Forces June 1952 until March 1953, when he was made Inspector-General only of the Internal Security Forces, being thus deprived of some prerogatives. An impressive little man but a firm, capable administrator. Homosexual.

#### 103. Mme. Hélène Rihan

Born about 1907, Beirut; Greek Orthodox. Wife of Dr. Habib Rihan of American University of Beirut. A leading advocate of women's rights. Formerly taught in a school for girls in Cairo. Appointed municipal councillor February 1953.

#### 104. Abdel Rahman Sahmarani

Born 1903, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and the Sorbonne. Bachelor. His sister acts as his hostess. President of the Beirut Chamber of Commerce since 1949. A pompous bore, much given to lecturing Western representatives on how to conduct their policy so as to satisfy Arab aspirations, but unfortunately quite influential, particularly in a Pan-Arab direction.

#### 105. Mohammed Salam

Born 1897, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Businessman interested in Middle East Airlines. Runs the Moslem Makassed College and believes in British methods of education. Not a very inspiring personality but loyal to his British connexions. Speaks good English.

#### 106. Sa'eb Salam

Born about 1902, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married to a charming and gentle wife. Brother of Mohammed Salam (No. 105). Politician and business man. The moving force in Middle East Airlines. Deputy in the 1943 and 1951 Chambers. Formerly Minister of the Interior. Prime Minister for a few days in September 1952 when he helped administer the *coup de grâce* to President el-Khoury. Again Prime Minister from April until August 1953. He has many American connexions but is also sincerely friendly to Britain. A bit of an adventurer in politics and business but he is intelligent and forward looking and is likely to remain a prominent figure. Speaks excellent English.

#### 107. Anis Saleh

Born 1907, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Formerly Magistrate and Director-General of Justice. He made himself too useful to President el-Khoury and did not survive his fall.

#### 108. Joseph Salem

Born 1897, Tyre; Greek Catholic; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Influential business man (mainly banking and insurance). Lebanese Minister at Cairo 1944-45. Minister of the Interior 1945-46. On close terms with President el-Khoury but maintains contact with President Chamoun and is usually well informed on what goes on behind the scenes. Although rather boorish at first sight he is usually friendly and co-operative and certainly has intelligence and independent judgment.

#### 109. Colonel Toufiq Salem

Born 1904; Tyre; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Trained in the French army (as a contemporary of General Shishakli). Chief of Staff of the Lebanese Armed Forces since 1945. A brusque and quick-tempered officer who tends to fret under General Chehab's calmer methods but is fundamentally good-natured and helpful.

**110. Joseph Saouda**

Born 1888; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and Paris. Married. Lawyer, formerly Deputy and journalist. Strongly anti-Moslem but also consistent opponent of French influence in the Lebanon. Lebanese Minister to Brazil 1946-53 and the Holy See since 1953.

**111. Fouad Sarrouf**

Born 1906 in Cairo, of Lebanese origin; Greek Orthodox; educated at the American University of Beirut. Married to a pleasant wife born and brought up in Manchester. Journalist. Edited *Al-Mokattam* newspaper in Cairo, founded by his father. Wrote Roosevelt's life in Arabic. Appointed Vice-President (in charge of Public Relations) of American University of Beirut in 1952. Capable and honest.

**112. Mohammed Shoucair**

Born 1912, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Politician and journalist. Member of the tiny but vocal National Appeal Party. Part-owner of *Al-Nida* newspaper. Was a disciple and great admirer of late Riad Solh. Clever, ambitious and honest by Lebanese standards but loyal to his friends. Visited England 1952.

**113. Sami Shoucair**

Born 1923, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and studied electrical engineering in the United States. Bachelor. Director of Civil Aviation in the Lebanon from 1950 until 1953 when he was dismissed and charged with illegal handling of the Civil Aviation budget; his case is still *sub judice*. Although born wealthy, would not miss an opportunity of making money. His main interests are women and money and he is unscrupulous and energetic in pursuit of these objectives.

**114. Abdel Karim Sibahi**

Born 1887, Hama, Syria; Sunni Moslem; educated in Istanbul. A merchant with real estate in Germany where he spent the years of World War II when he was well-known for his pro-Nazi sympathies. Having been appointed a municipal councillor at the request of Abdallah Yafi, he was elected President of the Municipality in February 1953. Lacks energy and experience in administration. Involved in two administrative municipal scandals in 1951 in regard to building a slaughter-house and the aerodrome.

**115. Alfred Skaf**

Born 1907, Zahlé; Greek Catholic; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. A powerful figure in the Bekaa but off the political stage since an unsuccessful term as Minister of Supply in 1943.

**116. Jean Skaf**

Born 1908, Zahlé; Greek Catholic; educated at Zahlé. Bachelor. Leading member of the Phalange in the Bekaa. Ex-Deputy and former Minister. Intelligent and ambitious.

**117. Kazem Solh**

Born 1903, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Istanbul, Damascus and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. President of the National Appeal Party. Lebanese Minister at Bagdad since 1947, promoted to the rank of Ambassador in 1953. Honest and intelligent.

**118. Sami Solh**

Born 1891, Sidon; Sunni Moslem; educated Istanbul Government College. Widower. Son of a

Turkish official. Formerly Magistrate and President of the High Court. Prime Minister 1942-43, 1945-46 and 1952, when he resigned in protest against President el-Khoury's attempt to throw upon him the blame for corruption in public life. He retains considerable influence with the lower Moslem classes in Beirut, but although amiable and well meaning is too vain and too weak to follow any consistent line of thought or policy for very long.

**119. Takiéddin Solh**

Born 1910, Saïda; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Cousin of late Riad Solh and nephew of Sami Solh (No. 118). Arab nationalist with political ambitions; dabbles in journalism. Failed in 1953 elections. Prominent member of National Appeal Party. Formerly Counsellor of Lebanese Legation at Cairo; later in Secretariat of Arab League. Very intelligent and relatively honest, but given to intrigues.

**120. Georges Tabet**

Born 1891, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Several times Minister. Has some influence in Maronite circles but is rather a contemptible old man out-classed by his wife.

**121. Jacques Tabet**

Born 1887, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite and land-owner who keeps in the social swing but has no political significance.

**122. Mme. Laure Tabet**

Born 1896, Alexandria; Maronite; educated at Roman Catholic College for Girls, Alexandria. Wife of Georges Tabet (No. 120). Having no children, diverted her energies into feminist activities in and outside Lebanon, notably Red Cross and International Council of Women. Appointed municipal councillor, February 1953. Highly civilised and speaks good English.

**123. Maurice Tabet**

Born 1919, Beirut; Maronite; educated at Jesuit University, Beirut. Son of Jacques Tabet (No. 121). Married to an attractive Canadian girl. Joined Lebanese Foreign Service in 1947; served in New York and Ottawa. Since 1952 Assistant Chief of Protocol. Nice manners but little experience. Speaks good English.

**124. Banié Takiéddin**

Born 1908, Baaklin; Druze; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Deputy; formerly Minister of Agriculture. A loyal adherent of the Arslan faction and therefore of President el-Khoury, whose spokesman he has often been in the Chamber.

**125. Khalil Takiéddin**

Born 1905, Baaklin; Druze; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Civil Servant, and Arabic poet. Served mainly in the Secretariat of the Chamber until appointed Lebanese Minister at Moscow and Stockholm 1946-53 when he became Minister to Mexico. Clever and socially presentable but servile and venal. Like the rest of his family, an opportunist.

**126. Philippe Takla**

Born 1914; Greek Catholic; educated Collège des Lazaristes, Antoura. Married to a rich Lebanese of Brazil by virtue of whose fortune he has acquired a certain independent standing. Lawyer and politician. Ex-Deputy and loyal supporter of President el-Khoury. Several times Minister for Foreign Affairs. He is intelligent and in most respects honest

and has pleasant manners. He is quick on the uptake and easy to deal with on matters of business. Friendly and helpful to this embassy.

**127. Colonel Fauzi Traboulsi**

Born 1901, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Served Lebanese Gendarmerie, later in command of Internal Security Forces. A personal friend of President Chamoun. Honest and loyal but tactless, vain, pompous, excitable and of mediocre intelligence.

**128. Gabriel Trad**

Born 1893, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite who enjoys parties but is also generous and prominent in charitable organisations. Honest and likeable but with no pretensions to intelligence, although he has travelled widely.

**129. André Tuéni**

Born 1910, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Married. Civil Servant. Formerly Director-General of Finance, now Director-General of Public Works. Relatively honest, hard worker and capable but an unattractive creature. Unpopular with his subordinates.

**130. Ghassan Tuéni**

Born 1926, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated at the American University of Beirut and then studied journalism at Harvard University, United States. Bachelor. Journalist and politician. Prominent member of the P.P.S.; Deputy since 1951. Advises and assists brother (Walid—Reuters' correspondent) in production of *Naher*. Educated, ambitious and energetic. Relatively honest. The typical young man with great possessions but Left-wing inclinations. Speaks excellent English and visited England 1951. Deputy President, Chamber of Deputies, since July 1953.

**131. Charles Tyan**

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Civil Servant employed in Ministry of Public Works 1943-52 where he acquired wide expert knowledge of oil and transport. Now out of a regular job. Undoubtedly very corrupt but helpful to the I.P.C. Secretary to the Conseil de Planification et Développement Economique.

**132. Abdallah Yafi**

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and in France. Married. Lawyer and politician. Several times Minister. Prime Minister 1936 and again 1951-52 and 1953-54. A comparatively honest politician who grew increasingly restive under President el-Khoury's régime. Prime Minister since August 1953. He is still a possible Prime Minister. It is probably with this in mind and with a view to the next election rather than out of any real conviction that he at one time played with the idea of forming a Democratic Socialist Party but this has never materialised. Well intentioned and friendly but rather dull and colourless.

**133. Simon Zouein**

Born 1910, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Served all his life in Gendarmerie; now head of it with rank of colonel. Honest and loyal.

**134. Constantin Zuraik**

Born 1908, Damascus; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut and United States. Married. Professor at American University of

Beirut; then president of Syrian University, Damascus, which post he relinquished in 1952 to become vice-president of the American University of Beirut (Administration). Nationalist; honest and capable.

*Obituary*

Mohammed Aboud Abdel Rezzak (No. 2 in 1953 Report).  
Emir Adel Arslan (No. 13 in 1953 Report).  
Emile Lahoud (No. 80 in 1953 Report).

**Index of Religious Personalities in the Lebanon****Maronite**

1. Monseigneur Antoine Abed.
2. His Beatitude Patriarch Antoine Pierre Arida.
3. Monseigneur Augustin Boustani.
4. Monseigneur Pierre Dib.
5. Monseigneur Elias Farah.
6. Monseigneur Boulos Meouschi.
7. Monseigneur Ignace Mobarak.
8. Monseigneur Abdallah Moujaim.
9. Monseigneur Ignace Ziade.

**Greek Catholic**

10. Monseigneur Philippe Nabaa.
11. Monseigneur Maximos Sayegh.

**Greek Orthodox**

12. Monseigneur Elie Karam.
13. Monseigneur Elie Saliby.

**Syrian Catholic**

14. Cardinal Gabriel I<sup>er</sup> Tappouni.

**Armenian Catholic**

15. Cardinal Grégoire Pierre XV Agagianian.

**Armenian Orthodox**

16. Monseigneur Khoren Paroyan.

**Jew**

17. Benzion Lechtman.

**Sunni Moslem**

18. Sheikh Mohammed Alaya.

**Shia Moslem**

19. Sayed Abdel Hussein Sharafeddin.

**Druze**

20. Mokadem Ali Mizher.

**Maronite****1. Monseigneur Antoine Abed**

Born 1901. Archbishop of Tripoli since 1931. Closely associated with the French but friendly to this embassy. Also interested in commerce.

**2. His Beatitude Patriarch Antoine Pierre Arida**

Born 1863, North Lebanon. Archbishop of Tripoli 1908. Elected Patriarch 1932. In his combined personal and official capacity the largest land-owner in the Lebanon. In his time he was an influential figure, particularly as the leader of Christian interests against the Moslems. But he was always greedy, cunning and quarrelsome and now his mental and physical powers are fast failing and he is bedridden. His patriarchal duties are conducted by a commission of three archbishops.

**3. Monseigneur Augustin Boustani**

Born 1872, Deir el-Kamar. Archbishop of South Lebanon residing at Beit-Iddin. He comes of a leading Maronite family and is intelligent and well educated but shows no friendliness to the British.

**4. Monseigneur Pierre Dib**

Born about 1885. Archbishop of Cairo but lives mainly at the Patriarch's seat at Bkerké. Learned and reputedly virtuous. A member of the commission which conducts the Patriarch's affairs and a possible successor to him.

**5. Monseigneur Elias Farah**

A Maronite, formerly Archimandrite representing the Maronite Patriarch in Alexandria (Wakil Patriarch). Aged 48. Studied at the Jesuit School in Beirut. A good speaker in Arabic and comes from South Lebanon, Kfarbo'hum. Appointed Maronite Archbishop of Cyprus in May 1954.

**6. Monseigneur Boulos Meouchi**

Born 1892, Jezzine. Archbishop of Tyr, after living many years in the United States. He lives at Bkerké and is chairman of the commission running the Patriarch's business. He is vigorous and intelligent and a more modern type than his archiepiscopal colleagues. Speaks English.

**7. Monseigneur Ignace Mobarak**

Born 1876; studied at Rome. Appointed Archbishop of Beirut 1919. A vigorous champion of the civic rights of the Maronite community, but apt to become quarrelsome. He several times offered his resignation and was surprised and shocked when the Pope accepted it suddenly in 1952. He now lives at Bkerké.

**8. Monseigneur Abdallah Moujain**

Maronite, born 1904 at Baalbek. Studied for a short period in Rome. For the last few years has been partly in charge of the Maronite Community in Baalbek. During the British occupation (1941-45) always entertained very good relations with the British military authorities. Is now on the Patriarch's staff at Bkerké.

**9. Monseigneur Ignace Zindé**

Born 1906. Archbishop of Aleppo 1945 and Beirut 1952. An educated and pleasant personality who is also a member of the commission managing the Patriarchate. In private conversation very ready to advocate the need for a strong Western policy in the Middle East.

**Greek Catholic****10. Monseigneur Philippe Nabaa**

Born about 1905; studied at Rome. Now Archbishop of Beirut. A genial and cultivated prelate who shows friendliness to this embassy and looks generally Westward.

**11. Monseigneur Maximos Sayegh**

Born 1878, Aleppo. Archbishop of Tyre 1917 and of Beirut 1933, and Patriarch since 1947. Popular among his small community. Anti-Communist and believes in the need for Western support of the Christian position in the Lebanon.

**Greek Orthodox****12. Monseigneur Elie Karam**

Born 1896. Archbishop of Mount Lebanon, living just outside Beirut. Maintains friendly relations with all foreigners but generally regarded as a Communist sympathiser and known to have close

connexions with the Soviet Legation (e.g., he celebrated a mass for the repose of Stalin's soul).

**13. Monseigneur Elie Saliby**

Born 1876. Archbishop of Beirut since 1935. A smooth-tongued ecclesiastic. Despite his professions of friendship with Britain has close contacts with the Cypriot supporters of Enosis with Greece. But he is a tough element of resistance to the all too pervasive communism in the Greek Orthodox Church.

**Syrian Catholic****14. Cardinal Gabriel I<sup>er</sup> Tappouni**

Born 1879, Mosul. Consecrated Bishop 1913; Archbishop of Aleppo 1921; Patriarch 1929; Cardinal 1933. Worked closely with the French who supported him during the Mandate as a counterpoise to the Maronites. A strong champion of Christian rights in Lebanon and Syria. Despite his pro-French reputation makes friendly gestures to this embassy.

**Armenian Catholic****15. Cardinal Grégoire Pierre XV Agagianian**

Born 1895, Tiflis; studied at Rome. Ordained 1917; consecrated Bishop 1935; Patriarch of Armenian Catholics throughout the world 1937; appointed Cardinal 1945. A cultivated man of small stature but imposing presence. Speaks English and is in touch with English-speaking Catholics throughout the world. Despite his Russian origins, a vigorous opponent of communism, and unites in his person many opponents of East and West (political, ecclesiastical and geographical) and is therefore generally regarded, perhaps somewhat optimistically, as *papabile*.

**Armenian Orthodox****16. Monseigneur Khoren Paroyan**

Born about 1905, Cyprus. Came to the Lebanon at the age of 15 and is now Archbishop of the Lebanon. He remains a British subject and still visits his parents every year in Cyprus. He is a friendly individual of no great intellectual stature.

**Jew****17. Benzion Lechtman**

Born about 1891 in Poland. Came to Beirut 1935 and has acted as Rabbi since 1948. Even the Jewish community regard him as colourless.

**Sunni Moslem****18. Sheikh Mohammed Alaya**

Born 1883, Beirut; primary education only, but after many years in religious courts is experienced in Shia law. Twice married and twice divorced. Appointed Mufti of the Lebanese Republic 1952 as a result of pressure on President el-Khoury by Abdallah Yafi and the Salam family. Honest but weak and unintelligent.

**Shia Moslem****19. Sayed Abdel Hussein Sharafeddin**

Born about 1867; studied at Najaf, the Shia holy place in Iraq. Now chief of the Shia community in the Lebanon. Violently anti-Christian and anti-Western but honest and much respected by his community.

**Druze****20. Mokadem Ali Mizher**

Born 1896. Cousin of Kemal Joublatt. Formerly a lawyer with political ambitions. He was appointed Kadi of the Druzes in Lebanon in 1945. He speaks English and professes the traditional Druze friendship for the British but is probably a rather sly intriguer.

**LEBANON: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS**

*Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received May 31)*

(No. 84. Confidential)

Beirut,  
May 20, 1954.

Sir,  
I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on heads of foreign missions accredited to the Lebanon.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

**Enclosure**

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

**Argentina**

Sr. Fernando Mario Lauria, Minister (February 4, 1953).

A courteous and friendly colleague with a charming wife and a family of four young children. They entertain discreetly, but well.

**Belgium**

M. Fernand Seynaeve, Minister (August 13, 1952).

\*A friendly, little middle-aged man of wide experience outside the Middle East, mostly consular; his interests mainly economic. A charming wife. Both speak English and, I am sure, like us. (Written in 1953.)

**Brazil**

Sr. F. de Chermont Lisboa, Ambassador (April 28, 1954).

**Chile**

Sr. Miguel Laban Jabaz, Minister (July 14, 1953). Also accredited to Syria.

Of Syrian origin, being the son of an emigrant who prospered exceedingly. Reputed to be wealthy. Speaks only Arabic and Spanish. Friendly, quiet and gentle in manner. In the late forties. Prefers to call himself Laban, omitting the Jabaz altogether. Wife rather reserved but quite friendly. She speaks a little French.

**Colombia**

Dr. Rodolfo Garcia Garcia, Minister (June 14, 1949).

Never seen except at Diplomatic Corps gatherings where he huddles together with the other South Americans.

**Czechoslovakia**

M. Joseph Prák, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (February 3, 1953).

One hardly knows him.

**Egypt**

Dr. Mahmoud Yousri El-Karamani, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (February 1, 1954).

An experienced official in the early forties with a good-looking young wife. Both speak English and are friendly towards us.

**France**

M. Georges Balay, Ambassador (Minister April 7, 1952, Ambassador October 1952).

\*A well-groomed, almost dapper little man, unmarried. Can speak English and knows from personal acquaintance something of places and people in the United Kingdom. Is friendly, reasonable and glad to co-operate. More detached in his attitude than most Frenchmen in this country and knows his diplomatic trade well but does not get on very well with the Lebanese, perhaps because of his slightly superior air towards them and gift for implying in conversation that a plebiscite would restore the mandate. (Written in 1952.)

**German Federal Republic**

Dr. Herbert Noehring, Minister (May 20, 1953).

\*A rather distinguished-looking man, apparently unmarried, in the early fifties. Sword-scarred cheek and an eye and look whose inborn hardness an instinct for the main chance and the veneer of professional diplomacy do not completely mask. Anxious to be friendly to us and bitterly recriminative against Ribbentrop. Speaks English fluently from several years in America. Also served pre-war in Bagdad. (Written in 1953.)

**Greece**

M. Georges St. Seferiades, Minister (January 1, 1953).

Also accredited to Bagdad, Damascus and Amman. \*A charming, elderly man, married. A post-war diplomatist, he came here from London and seems genuinely pro-British. Speaks sufficient English. Said to be the leading poet of modern Greece. Was chief of Greek Information Services abroad during the war and later private secretary to Archbishop Damaskinos when Regent. (Written in 1953.)

**Holy See**

Mgr. Giuseppe Beltrami, Nuncio (December 2, 1950).

\*A dignified ecclesiastic of the old school with polished, if a trifle fussy, manners. Anxious to be friendly and having, from his own account, narrowly escaped being lynched during anti-clerical riots in South America, is very sensitive to "confessional" differences among the Lebanese and, like all Catholics including Maronites in this country, fearful of the further growth of the Moslem element in the population. (Written in 1952.)

**Iraq**

El-Sayed Ahmed Al-Rawi, K.B.E., Ambassador (July 31, 1953).

\*Brother to Nejjib Al-Rawi, Iraqi Ambassador at Cairo. Deeply attached to the Hashemites but no politician. A public servant all his life. As Director-General of Public Security in Bagdad after the failure of the Rachid Ali *coup* he had to round up the rebels. Is an honorary K.B.E. and proud of it. Speaks English volubly, but his wife only Arabic. (Written in 1953.) Has four daughters.

**Italy**

Sig. Pio Antonio Archi, Minister (November 6, 1953).

A good professional diplomatist of the "official" type, in the late forties. Was previously head of the Personnel Department in Rome and before that

Counsellor in Cairo. Co-operative where our interests coincide. His wife a Florentine, friendly but a heavy, peasant sort of person.

#### Jordan

M. Abdulhamid Saraj, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (May 4, 1954).

#### Liberia

M. Henry Gemayel, Chargé d'Affaires (February 10, 1951).

\*Is a Lebanese permanently resident in the Lebanon and thus holds a sort of local honorary appointment which the Diplomatic Corps recognise only on sufferance. (Written in 1953.)

#### Mexico

Sr. Marco A. Almazán, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (September 1953).

#### Netherlands

M. Willen Cnoop Koopmans, Minister (December 3, 1951). Lives in Cairo.

M. Henk Goemans, Chargé d'Affaires (June 7, 1952).

A career Foreign Service officer whose service has been mostly consular. A man of just over fifty and to be trusted as a friend of Britain. Speaks English, French and Russian fluently; was previously in Cairo. His wife is in a hospital for incurables in Holland.

#### Persia

M. Aboul-Ghassem Pourevally, Minister (December 17, 1949).

A rather unprepossessing-looking little man with a large blond German wife. Attached to the "old régime" in his own country and longs for a return to normality in Anglo-Persian relations.

#### Peru

Sr. Jorge Bailey-Lembcke, Minister (May 8, 1951).

\*A middle-aged bachelor with no work to do. He speaks excellent English and French, and is out to enjoy in a quiet and dignified way, the social pleasures of Beirut. An old Harrovian with a nostalgia for pre-1914 London. (Written in 1953.) Has been absent for the past twelve months.

#### Poland

M. Zigmunt Zawadowski, Minister (August 17, 1944).

\*Until the enforced dissolution in July 1945 of the Government which he claims to represent, M. Zawadowski enjoyed a good position here. Since then he has maintained a brave front in the face of an increasingly difficult position due mostly to lack of funds, not to mention the embarrassing presence of Soviet and satellite colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps. Is particularly well informed about the political situation here and about the private lives of Communist representatives both here and in neighbouring countries. Always ready to put his knowledge and information at our disposal, and generous in his expressions of gratitude for British help to former members of the Polish Brigade who for one reason or another, mostly illness, remain in this country. Visits London regularly once a year. Has a wife who lives mostly in Paris, and a daughter who sometimes comes to stay here. (Written in 1952.)

#### Saudi Arabia

Cheikh Abdul Aziz Ben Zeid, Minister (February 16, 1945). Lives in Damascus.

M. Said el-Rachache, Chargé d'Affaires (December 11, 1946).

A Damascene by birth, son of a wealthy, cultured father who had a noteworthy collection of Chinese porcelain. He speaks French and English. Not a strict Moslem, but formal and correct in public. He married, when she was thirteen, a lady of Turkish origin. They have four children, the eldest now nearly thirty. Definitely friendly towards Britain.

#### Soviet Union

M. Vassili A. Beliaev, Minister (March 15, 1951).

\*Young in appearance, an engineer originally, but stiff and formal, rarely smiling, with a young and well-dressed wife and three children. Speaks French, wife taking English lessons. Always prepared to engage in conversation if approached, but is usually disinclined to take the first step. Visited London during the war and (he says) stayed at Chequers. Appeared very shaken by the death of Stalin but seemed, on the slight relaxation of official rigidity that followed, to relish the opportunity of more free and easy contacts. (Written in 1953.) After six months' home leave during 1953-54, he returned, leaving his wife and children in Russia.

#### Spain

Sr. Don Juan Felipe de Ranero y Rodriguez, Ambassador (Minister June 26, 1953, Ambassador September 21, 1953).

\*A rubicund little man, said to be wealthy, with a Vicar of Brayish career, but who, to me in private, expressed passionately Royalist sentiments. Shrewd, yet talkative to the point of indiscretion. (Written in 1953.) Wife undistinguished.

#### Switzerland

Dr. Franz Kappeler, Minister (December 28, 1950).

Also accredited to Syria.  
\*Spent some years as Counsellor in Berlin during the war. A quiet, but charming person, he and his wife are always friendly. Four children. A typical Swiss family. (Written in 1953.)

#### Turkey

Mr. Rifki Zorlu, Minister (November 14, 1952).

\*A rather gay, well-dressed bachelor in the forties. An untypical Turk, he hardly ever stops talking in fluent idiomatic French. The insoluble puzzle of local politics seems to buzz in his head like swarming bees. But at least a cheerful and friendly person. (Written in 1953.)

#### United States

Mr. Raymond Hare, Ambassador (September 29, 1953).

Known to many of us from long years in Cairo, Jeddah and at the Middle East desk in the State Department. Speaks some Arabic. Not gushing, but always friendly towards his British colleagues, ready to exchange information and, if possible, collaborate. A wife to match.

#### Uruguay

Sr. José Aiub Manzor, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (September 9, 1951).

As his name implies, comes of an emigrant family of Syrian origin. He is friendly, but our paths seldom cross.

#### Venezuela

Sr. Arturo Lares, Minister (February 3, 1954).

An undistinguished friendly person of about sixty. His first diplomatic post. A journalist by profession, was exiled as a young man for implication in a revolt, and thereafter lived for many years in the United States where he started a Spanish language newspaper. Is also accredited to Turkey, Iran and Ethiopia.

#### Yugoslavia

M. Mihajlo Javorski, Minister (December 3, 1951). Also accredited to Syria.

\*A lean young man and friendly, with wife to match. Both struggling to learn English. Was a combatant partisan captured by the Germans and sentenced to death, but joined in a planned mass prison break concerted with an R.A.F. bombing attack. If he is a Communist it is not noticeable. (Written in 1953.)

*Ministers accredited to the Lebanon but Resident elsewhere*

#### Afghanistan

Abdul Samad Khan (August 13, 1952). Bagdad.

#### Austria

Dr. Clemens Wildner, Minister (October 13, 1953). Cairo.

#### Cuba

Sr. Luis P. de Almagro y Elizaga (January 24, 1953). Cairo.

#### India

M. Rao Raja R. G. Rajwade, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* Cairo.

#### Netherlands

M. Willen Cnoop Koopmans (December 3, 1951). Cairo.

#### Norway

M. Christian Prahls Reusch. Cairo.

#### Pakistan

Dr. Mahmood Hasan (May 8, 1952). Damascus.

#### Sweden

Count Gustaf Weidel (March 27, 1952). Cairo.

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